CATENA CLASSICORUM

EDITED BY

THE REV.

ARTHUR HOLMES M.A.

SENIOR FELLOW AND DEAN OF CLARE COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE
AND LATE PREACHER AT THE CHAPEL ROYAL WHITEHALL

AND

THE REV.

CHARLES BIGG M.A.

PRINCIPAL OF BRIGHTON COLLEGE
LATE SENIOR STUDENT AND TUTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH OXFORD

RIVINGTONS

London		*Waterloo Place*
Oxford		*High Street*
Cambridge		*Trinity Street*

HERODOTUS

BOOK I.

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

BY

HENRY GEORGE WOODS, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE
OXFORD

RIVINGTONS

London, Oxford, and Cambridge

1873

In memoriam
Isaac Flagg
1843–1931

PREFACE.

THOUGH I am fully aware of the numerous defects of this work, I venture to hope that it has one merit—that of not leaving untouched any serious difficulties of grammar and construction, which occur in the text. The text-difficulties of Herodotus are always liable to be under-estimated. His apparent simplicity of construction conceals many a pitfall, which seems sometimes to have escaped the notice of students and commentators alike. On these and other points of grammar I have given references to Madvig's *Greek Syntax*, and occasionally, when Madvig seemed too brief, to the grammars of Jelf and Donaldson. I have also made considerable use of Krüger's *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen*, and of Klotz's *Devarii Liber de Græcæ linguæ particulis.*

A writer so discursive as Herodotus necessarily requires a good deal of illustration. A discussion of the larger historical questions presented by his work would have made the commentary too bulky, even had I felt myself competent to deal with them; and on these I have simply referred to the histories of Grote and Curtius. The references to the former

are made to the 8 volume edition (1862), and I have added in brackets the corresponding volumes and pages in the original 12 volume edition. On other points however I have thought it right to give a considerable amount of illustration from modern sources. I have no sympathy with the point of view which attaches an educational value to the mere 'getting up' of the text of a Greek or Latin author, without caring whether any attention is paid to the truth or importance of the facts therein contained. Certainly in the case of Herodotus such an unnatural separation of form and matter would be a very grave error.

The present edition does not profess to be in any sense critical. The notices of the MSS. are taken at secondhand, except in the case of two Bodleian MSS., which do not seem to be known to the modern authorities on the text—Abicht and Stein. The variations of reading contained in the appended table are only those which affect the sense of the passages in which they occur, or exhibit some syntactical peculiarity. Such a selection of various readings may fairly perhaps be called unscholarlike and unscientific. My excuse must be that I found it necessary occasionally for the explanation of passages to refer to variations of reading, and that space was gained in the commentary by putting them all in a separate list, where the reader could judge for himself of their relative authority. I have also availed myself of the table of readings for marking the passages in which I have departed from Bähr's text.

I had originally intended to append to my remarks on the dialect of Herodotus a sketch of the principal Herodo-

tean forms, resembling those which are given in the more recent German editions. But I found that it must be of considerable length, to be of any value, and after all it seemed doubtful whether it would not be to a great extent superfluous—so full and accurate is Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* on the dialectical forms.

In the list of editions on p. lxviii. I have mentioned the commentaries of which I have made most use. I have also endeavoured in my notes to acknowledge, as far as possible, my obligations to these and other recent authorities. It only remains for me to express my thanks to Mr R. W. Raper, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, who was kind enough to look through some of the sheets, as they passed through the press, and to whom I owe some valuable suggestions.

H. G. W.

OXFORD,
December, 1872.

ON THE LIFE OF HERODOTUS.

For a full discussion of the numerous questions which have been raised on the life of Herodotus, the reader is referred to some of the works mentioned on pp. lxviii., lxix. It will be sufficient here to give a brief summary of the principal ascertained facts and of the points on which differences of opinion still exist.

The following is all that is known for certain about the life of Herodotus. He was born about the year 485 B.C. at Halicarnassus, a Dorian colony situated on the coast of Caria, at one time a member of the league of the Hexapolis[1], and at the time of the Persian war an important town of the small vassal-kingdom ruled over by Artemisia[2]. The travels, which his work proves him to have undertaken, must have extended over many years of his life. He penetrated into the interior of the Persian empire, as far as Ecbatana to the north-east, and Ardericca to the south-east[3]. He visited Tyre and other parts of Phoenicia, and explored Egypt as far south as Élephantine[4]. Northwards he sailed across the Black Sea to the coast of Scythia[5], and also visited Colchis, the Propontis, the Thracian Chersonese and Macedonia[6]. In Greece proper he stayed (amongst other places) at Athens, Thebes, Lacedaemon, Dodona, and Delphi[7]. To the westward he travelled as far as

[1] I. 144. [2] VII. 99. [3] I. 98. 6; 185. 3.
[4] II. 44. 1; 106. 1; 29. 1. [5] IV. 76. 3; 81. 2; 105. 2.
[6] II. 104. 2; IV. 14. 1; II. 44. 4; VI. 47. 2; VII. 115. 3.
[7] I. 98. 8; V. 59. 1; III. 55. 3; II. 55. 5; I. 51. 1.

Cyrene, Zacynthus and southern Italy[1]. He joined the Athenian colony which was sent out to Thurii in Magna Graecia about 444 B.C.,—either as an original colonist or at some subsequent time. He was at Athens some time or other after the year 436 B.C., when the Propylaea of the Acropolis were commenced[2]. He died (probably at Thurii) not earlier than 430 B.C., and he left his work (which, like those of the other prose-writers of the time, was composed in the Ionic dialect[3]) in an unfinished state at his death.

The following additional particulars of his life are probably to some extent correct, and are accepted by many modern authorities. They partly rest on the authority of the lexicon compiled by Suidas[4]—partly are inferences from the language of Herodotus. His family was illustrious, and he was nephew (or first cousin) of Panyasis, an epic poet of some note, who composed among other works a Heracleiad[5] in fourteen books. Driven from Halicarnassus by Lygdamis (grandson of Artemisia), Herodotus took refuge in Samos[6], where he seems to have had relations[7]. He subsequently returned to Halicarnassus and succeeded in expelling Lygdamis (probably about 449 B.C.), who had previously put Panyasis to death. His travels in Persia, Media, and Assyria were earlier than his visit to Egypt, which seems to have taken place shortly after the collapse of the revolt of Inarus against the Persian dominion

[1] II. 181. 7; IV. 195. 3; 99. 6. [2] V. 77. 6.

[3] The early prose-writers were in many cases Ionians. The popularity of Hecataeus in particular probably did much to make Ionic the language of historical literature. 'The adoption of it by a native Dorian (see however pp. l., li.) was as natural in that age as the adoption of the Tuscan by a Venetian or Neapolitan man of letters in the present day.' Mure. Hippocrates (Dorian) and Hellanicus (Aeolian) also composed in Ionic.

[4] S. v. Ἡρόδοτος, Πανύασις. Nothing whatever is known about Suidas, though he is generally placed about the 10th century. The lexicon (or rather encyclopaedia) was clearly based upon older works which have perished, and bears traces of having passed through many hands.

[5] Compare Hdt. II. 44.

[6] II. 148. 2; 168. 2; III. 39 foll.; 54 foll.; 60; 120 foll.; 139 foll., al.

[7] VIII. 132. 1.

in 455 B.C.[1], and he seems to have visited Thrace before 437[2]. He resided for some time at Athens, where he was a friend of Sophocles[3], and he died before the year 412[4].

There has been much discussion on the following questions in connection with the life of Herodotus.

(1) Did Herodotus give a public recitation of any portion of his writings at Olympia or elsewhere? According to the well-known story told by Marcellinus[5] (date unknown) and Suidas, on one occasion, when Herodotus was giving a public recitation of his writings, the young Thucydides, who was present with his father, burst into tears, whereupon Herodotus, turning to Olorus, said, 'Olorus, thy son's nature is ripening towards knowledge[6].' That Herodotus gave a public recitation of his work at the Olympic games had been previously stated by Lucian (2nd cent.), who however says nothing about Thucydides or Olorus. And the pseudo-Plutarch[7] reports, on the authority of Diyllus (about 250 B.C.), that a decree was passed at Athens to give ten talents to Herodotus—a gift which, it

[1] The language used at II. 150. 3 implies that he had been at Nineveh before he visited the lake of Moeris, and if the story of his expulsion of Lygdamis be true, it would probably have been unsafe for him to have travelled in the interior of Asia after that event. The date of the visit to Egypt is determined by the remark at III. 13. 6. Some authorities however think that the visit took place *during* the revolt, advantage being taken by Herodotus of the presence of the Athenian armament in Egypt.

[2] At VII. 114 no mention is made of Amphipolis, which was founded in that year.

[3] See the references given on p. xxxi. The beginning of a poem has been preserved by Plutarch (*Mor.* 785), who says that it is universally allowed to have been written by Sophocles:—ᾠδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεῦξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὢν | πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα. It was thus written B.C. 440, the year before the *Antigone* was brought out.

[4] This is an inference from the language used at VI. 98. 3; VII. 170. 5, which would hardly have been retained, had Herodotus heard of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily.

[5] *Vit. Thuc.* 54.

[6] ὀργᾷ πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα. For the metaphor, cf. Hdt. IV. 199. 2.

[7] *De Herod. malign.* 26.

has been argued, must have implied a previous public recitation. According to another (probably still later) story Herodotus had intended to recite his work at the Olympic festival, but put it off from day to day (till it was too late) on account of the heat of the sun:—whence was derived the proverb of putting off a thing 'till Herodotus' shady day' (εἰς τὴν Ἡροδότου σκιάν). That the story told by Lucian cannot be true in all its details, has been conclusively shown by Dahlmann. Whether it had any foundation in fact, we have no means of knowing. It is probable that Herodotus became acquainted at Athens with Thucydides, who was about fourteen years his junior, and there is no *a priori* improbability in one or more public recitations of *portions* of the histories having been given. But critics attempt too much, when they try to determine what portions were (or might have been) thus recited.

(2) In what order did Herodotus undertake his different travels? That he had probably completed his eastern travels before his visit to Egypt, has been already stated. It seems probable also (from II. 170. 2) that he had been at Delos before his Egyptian visit, and we learn (from II. 44. 1, 4) that after quitting Egypt he went to Tyre, and subsequently to Thasos. Other passages (e.g. I. 98. 8; II. 7. 2), which have been thought to bear on the order of his travels, seem less decisive. We are probably justified in supposing that his expeditions to the east and north were undertaken from Halicarnassus or Samos, rather than from his later western home. But any connected history of his travels can be based on nothing but the merest conjecture.

(3) In what year did Herodotus die? Since the work bears many marks of incompleteness and want of revision, we may suppose that he was still engaged upon it at the time of his death. The question therefore becomes, What is the latest definite historical fact mentioned in the work? It seems to be now generally agreed that the supposed references to events as late as 408 B.C. (see I. 130. 2; III. 15. 3) are untenable.

The supposed allusion to the occupation of Decelea in 413 (see IX. 73. 3) very probably only refers to the fact that Decelea was spared when parts of Attica were laid waste in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. II. 23), and the facts mentioned at III. 160. 3; VII. 114. 3 are indecisive, because we have no definite statement of the time at which they occurred. The language used at VI. 98 has been thought to imply that Artaxerxes was already dead when the passage was written. If this is granted, Herodotus wrote as late as 425. But the assumption is questionable. On the other hand it is quite certain that he was alive during the first two years of the Peloponnesian war, since he refers to the war and mentions one or two events which occurred in those years (see IX. 73. 3; VII. 233. 4; 137. 2, 4). We are entitled therefore to conclude that he certainly lived as late as 430, and possibly as late as 425 B.C. For any statement beyond this we have no evidence.

(4) Were the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι (see I. 106. 3; 184. 1) ever written, and were they intended to form a separate treatise? If Herodotus intended to incorporate them into his work, we can hardly suppose that they were ever actually composed. But it seems more probable that he intended to make them into a separate work—probably on account of their length. Otherwise why should he have neglected such a good opportunity for inserting them, as that which presents itself at I. 106? Or why, if he had intended to insert them in a later place (e. g. after III. 160), should he have anticipated a portion of them by the description of Babylon at I. 178 foll.? Whether they were ever composed—on the assumption that they were to form a separate treatise—is uncertain. The anticipation at I. 178 foll. seems rather to imply that they were not. Still the difficulty of supposing that Ἡσίοδος is the true reading in Aristotle's statement about the 'Siege of Nineveh'[1] is even greater than that of adopting Ἡρόδοτος. On this point too we must be content to reserve our judgment.

[1] *Hist. An.* VIII. 18. See note on I. 184. 1.

Dismissing as unprofitable—because insoluble on the evidence within our reach—these disputed questions about the life of Herodotus, let us attempt from his writings, and from a consideration of the times in which he lived, to picture to ourselves the man, and form an estimate of his character.

The events of the years 480 and 479 B.C. were such as would make a powerful and lasting impression on the minds of the young generation just growing up at that time into an appreciation of the historical situation. Too young to have entered into the feelings of trouble and anxiety, with which the Athenian sympathizers of his city must have viewed the preparations for the expedition of Xerxes, Herodotus was probably old enough to have shared in the rejoicings which the overthrow of the expedition must have caused. Very possibly the earliest remembrance of his life was the news of the battle of Salamis. Halicarnassus had contributed a contingent of five ships to the Persian navy, and Herodotus has given us a lively picture of the unwillingness with which many of the Asiatic Greeks took part in an engagement, which could have no other issue, as they thought, than the final extinction of Greek freedom[1]. We may imagine how, when the glorious and unexpected news arrived, many a pious Asiatic Greek must have seen in the proud king's defeat (as did Themistocles[2]) the direct interposition of Providence, and we can hardly be wrong in attributing in some degree to these impressions of the early years of Herodotus that belief in the divine ordering of events and in the inevitable punishment of presumptuous pride, which he so continually enforces throughout his work.

The stirring events of these early years of his life would naturally have kindled his enthusiasm. We may imagine him resolving as a boy to devote his life to the description of that great war, the concluding events of which had first stimulated his imagination, and undertaking even his earliest travels with the determination of putting on record what he saw and heard. A desire to see the world was not without precedent among

[1] See VIII. 10. 2.

[2] See VIII. 109. 4.

the Greeks of his age. Hecataeus of Miletus in the preceding generation had visited Egypt[1], and, although the travels attributed to the early philosophers are probably in most cases the inventions of a later time, Democritus of Abdera, as we learn from a fragment of his writings which has been preserved, prided himself upon the extent of his travels[2]. But the difficulties of travelling in those days can hardly be overestimated. If all travelling implies a certain amount of energy and self-reliance, the travels of Herodotus must have required all the courage and determination of an African explorer of the present day. He must often have been in danger of starvation or shipwreck—of attacks from the 'natives' or wild beasts. The mere difficulties of transit, and his ignorance of foreign languages[3], must have often proved serious obstacles. It has been suggested that his object in travelling may have been in part commercial, and this is not impossible. Palgrave's recent experiences in Central Arabia have shown the comparative safety of the merchant amongst uncivilized nations, where the man who professed to be travelling merely 'for information' would have been viewed with suspicion and dislike. But we have the testimony of Herodotus himself, that some of his journeys were undertaken simply in order to clear up points about which he was uncertain[4], and we may fairly suppose at any rate that his

[1] II. 140. 1.

[2] τάδε λέγει Δημόκριτος...'Εγὼ δὲ τῶν κατ' ἐμωυτὸν ἀνθρώπων γῆν πλείστην ἐπεπλανησάμην ἱστορέων τὰ μήκιστα, καὶ ἀέρας τε καὶ γέας πλείστας εἶδον, καὶ λογίων ἀνθρώπων πλείστων ἐσήκουσα, καὶ γραμμέων συνθέσιος μετὰ ἀποδέξιος οὐδείς κώ με παρήλλαξεν. Ritt. and Prell. *Hist. Phil.* 77. Contrast the boastfulness of this language with the modest silence of Herodotus. Democritus was probably born about 480 B.C.

[3] That he did not understand Egyptian seems certain (II. 125. 5), and his acquaintance with other languages seems to be limited to a knowledge of a few words and phrases, such as he would naturally have picked up in the course of his travels. See I. 105. 5; 110. 1; 139. 3; 172. 1; 187. 2; 192. 3; II. 2. 9; 30. 2; 105. 2; III. 88. 6; IV. 27; 59. 4; 110. 1; 117. 1; 155. 2; 192. 4; V. 9. 6; VI. 119. 4; VIII. 85. 5; 98. 3; IX. 110. 2.

[4] II. 44. 1; 75. 1.

commercial motives were rather ostensible than real. Probably, notwithstanding all the precautions which he may have adopted, his travels would have come to an untimely end, had not the circumstances of his birth and times been greatly in his favour. Born a Persian subject, he was entitled to claim the protection of the great king in any part of the Persian Empire. The facilities afforded to traffic in Central Asia by the civilizing influence of Darius may be seen in the description of the 'Royal Road' from Sardis to Susa[1], and the security given to travellers in Egypt by the establishment of the Persian dominion is illustrated by the fact that Herodotus did not venture to trace the Nile beyond Elephantine, the last Persian outpost on the Ethiopian frontier[2]. Born a Greek, on the other hand, with strong national sympathies, and an ardent belief in the rights of Greek freedom and the advantages of democratical government[3], he was sure of a warm welcome in all Greek-speaking countries, which had either taken part in, or sympathized with, the national struggle against Persia. The courtesy and kindness with which he was received in Greece are sufficiently attested by the unrestricted liberty which was evidently accorded to him, of examining the archives and treasures of Delphi and other Greek oracles—an indulgence not likely to have been granted to the ordinary visitors of the shrine.

The influence of his travels on his character is to be traced in the singular breadth of view and freedom from national and provincial prejudices, which pervade his work. Though 'a Greek of the Greeks,' he never allows himself to indulge in contemptuous language about the laws and lives of the 'barbarian' (and often wholly uncivilized) nationalities, of which he had had so much experience. He often praises their customs, even when they are utterly foreign to Greek ideas[4],

[1] V. 52.

[2] II. 29. 1; 30. 4.

[3] See e.g. II. 147. 2; 172. 7; V. 78. 1; and III. 80 (compared with III. 81; 82).

[4] E.g. I. 137. 1; 196. 1; 197. 1.

and for the scientific and artistic products of Egyptian civilization in particular, he shows a strong admiration[1], while emphatically marking (and even exaggerating) its many points of divergence from the ways of 'the rest of the world[2].' He recognizes the fact that to each country its own institutions are the best[3], and taking a comprehensive view of the vicissitudes of human affairs and the varying rise and fall of cities and nations, he pronounces the present smallness and unimportance of many states to be no reason for passing them over in silence[4]. The width of his human sympathies is especially traceable in the sentiments (of course unhistorical) which are put into the mouths of his leading barbarian characters. Herodotus does not regard practical—any more than speculative—wisdom as a Greek monopoly. Croesus, Amasis, and Artabanus are σοφισταί, as well as Solon. They have lived and suffered and learnt experience, and we may listen with respect to their views on the shortness and miseries of life, on the vicissitudes of fortune, and the dangers of excessive prosperity[5]. The whole narrative of the Persian war is another example of this freedom from national vanity. It might have been read without resentment by any fair-minded Persian of the day. Full justice seems to be done to the partial successes of the enemy, and to the bravery of both their troops and their generals[6], and the fear of Nemesis induces Herodotus to ascribe the Persian defeat rather to the interference of the gods than to the valour or tactics of the Greeks.

His freedom from many of the local prejudices of his time is also to be referred to the influence of his travels. He is a cosmopolitan Greek. His Hellas includes Miletus and Cyrene, Sicily and Rhodes[7]; his horizon is not bounded by the walls

[1] See II. 4. 3; 35. 1; 43. 3; 109. 3; 146. 1; 148. 2; 155. 1.
[2] οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι, II. 35. 2; 36. 2.
[3] III. 38. 2.
[4] I. 5. 5—7.
[5] See I. 207; III. 40; VII. 10; 46.
[6] E.g. VI. 113. 1; VII. 210. 3; VIII. 86. 3; 87; IX. 22. 2; 37. 1.
[7] See I. 92. 1, note.

of his own particular πόλις. Yet his sensibility to the ties of local and personal attachment does not seem to have been thereby diminished. Slight traces are occasionally to be found in his work of personal likings and dislikes, which could no doubt be explained by the history of his life, if we knew it fully[1]. If Samos was ever his home, he has abundantly requited its hospitality by the fulness of the account which he has given of its history and public works[2]. And his praises of Athens, his temporary home in after years, have subjected him to many charges of partiality and misrepresentation. It is unnecessary to refute at length the assertions of the extraordinary treatise on the 'maliciousness' (κακοήθεια) of Herodotus, which has come down to us among the reputed writings of Plutarch. Some of its illogical accusations almost suggest the belief that it was composed merely as an ironical *jeu d'esprit*. But the joke seems to be too heavy for this explanation to be possible. The mask fits too closely to enable us to catch a glimpse of the sarcastic smile beneath, and it seems more probable that the treatise is a *bona fide* expression of Boeotian resentment and jealousy, the result of the plain statements made by Herodotus about the 'Medism' of the Thebans[3]. The utmost that the writer succeeds in showing, is that Herodotus was careless of popularity—did not care, that is, to gain it at the expense of truth. The charges of undue prejudice against the Thebans, Corinthians, and Spartans may be rebutted by calling attention to the commendations bestowed on these states for what Herodotus deems praiseworthy in their conduct on other occasions[4]; the charge of

[1] Stein thinks that Hdt. shows a liking for the Macedonian royal family (v. 22. 1), Artabazus (viii. 106. 1), king Pausanias (v. 32. 2), Aristides (viii. 79. 1), Kallias (vi. 121. 2),—and a dislike for the Ionians (i. 142. 6), the Aleuadae (vii. 6. 3; 172), and Themistocles (viii. 4. 3). But some of these instances seem rather fanciful.

[2] See the passages quoted in the note on p. x.

[3] See vii. 205. 4; 233. 2; ix. 31. 7; 41. 4; and compare *de Herod. malign.* 31.

[4] E.g. ix. 67. 1; v. 75. 1; 92; vii. 102. 2; 220. 1.

undue friendliness to Athens is disproved by the criticisms which he occasionally passes on its faults and follies[1]. If his praises of Athens really require apology, her unpopularity immediately before the Peloponnesian war would seem to be sufficient reason why her wellwishers should be anxious to call special attention to the services which she had rendered to Greece during the preceding generation.

To the stay of Herodotus at Athens the highest interest attaches, and his silence about the men whom he met there is extremely provoking. A contemporary sketch of the Athenian society of the age of Pericles would have been a literary treasure, for which we might well have been content to forego the possession of the treatise on the life of Homer, which has been fathered upon Herodotus, and is so often included in the editions of his work[2]. Of the Athens of Socrates we possess a vivid picture in the dialogues of Plato—our knowledge of the Athens of Pericles is based only on the comparatively untrustworthy authority of Plutarch's *Lives*, and on the scanty notices which may be occasionally found in Plato and the fragments of the philosophers. If we suppose Herodotus to have been in Athens in 445 B.C.—the year before the Thurian colony was founded—Sophocles would have been about 50—possibly engaged on the *Antigone*,—Euripides about 35, Thucydides about 26, and Socrates 24. Pericles would have been a statesman of some twenty years' standing, probably already married to Aspasia, and in intimate intercourse with his friends and instructors, Zeno the Eleatic, Protagoras the Sophist, and Damon the musician. That Herodotus was welcomed in this highly cultivated society (where his strange experiences doubtless found eager listeners) is proved by his intimacy with Sophocles, already mentioned. And there can be no reasonable doubt that he knew and admired Pericles, though we are unable to determine how far

[1] E.g. I. 62. 2; V. 97. 4; VI. 109. 2; VII. 133. 2.

[2] It is now generally ascribed either to an Alexandrian grammarian, or to an unknown author of the 2nd century A.D.

his account of the political relations existing between the Greek states, his views on the inexpediency of a despotism at Athens[1], and his criticism of the Cleisthenic reforms[2], may be due to actual conversations with Pericles himself. Once only does he mention Pericles by name, but it has been truly said that he there mentions him 'as if he were a god'—a supernatural being, whose first appearance on earth would naturally be heralded by a portent. 'Agariste (he says), being married to Xanthippus, and being with child, saw a vision in her sleep, and she dreamt that she brought forth a lion: and after a few days she bears Pericles to Xanthippus'.[3]

One other Athenian resident must be mentioned, with whom Herodotus probably came into contact, and whose influence on his writings (whether direct or indirect) is unmistakeable—the philosopher Anaxagoras. Born at Clazomenae, and therefore like Herodotus only a *μέτοικος*, he seems, as early as 465 B.C., to have settled in Athens, where his abilities procured him the friendship of Pericles. He there became the recognized leader of that new school of scientific thought, the influence of which is to be traced in his distinguished pupils, Euripides and Socrates. The cardinal point of his philosophy is the conception of *νοῦς*. 'Mind' alone is separated from everything else in the universe—by the action of 'mind' on chaos the existing order of the universe is to be explained: *πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε*[4]. Vague as this language is, it was the first attempt to distinguish between the material and the immaterial—the first conception of an immaterial efficient cause of things, and its adoption implied a definite abandonment of the cosmogonies of the earlier mythologists. Accordingly we find Anaxagoras venturing to give an allegorical interpretation of the early legends[5],

[1] v. 78. [2] v. 66; 69.

[3] VI. 131. 3. Grote strangely views the story as an after-thought of the *enemies* of Pericles.

[4] Ritt. and Prell. *Hist. Phil.* 52.

[5] E.g. Zeus is *νοῦς*, Athene *τέχνη*, etc.

and attempting scientific explanations of physical phaenomena. The sun, which Herodotus speaks of as a god[1], was pronounced by Anaxagoras to be merely 'a red-hot stone, larger than the Peloponnese'—the moon, to which Herodotus had seen so many sacrifices performed in the course of his travels[2], and by the phases of which the Spartans[3] and Nicias[4] regulated their military movements, was said to be made of earth and to contain valleys and houses. It was only natural that such statements should have shocked the religious feelings of the uneducated, and hence the paradox that the first condemnation for atheism fell on the man, who has been called from a modern point of view 'the first of theists.'

At Athens, if nowhere else, Herodotus was brought face to face with this rapidly developing school of thought, and had to attempt a reconciliation between the science and religion of his times. The result, as might have been expected, was a compromise. Occasionally he seems dissatisfied with the popular polytheism. He doubts whether it is correct to attribute to the direct action of Poseidon effects which seem to him merely the result of an earthquake[5], he regards the titles, forms and functions of the special gods as the creation of the early epic poets[6], and in his etymology of the word θεός he shows a curious reproduction of the language of Anaxagoras[7]. Yet he attempts to trace a real connection between the religions of different nations. The Zeus-Ammon of Libya and Egypt is on his view not merely capable of identification with, but actually the same god as, Olympian Zeus[8]. Heracles Pan and Dionysus are real beings with distinct histories and personalities[9], and the forgiveness of gods and heroes is invoked for remarks that may seem too sceptical[10]. A similar mixture of doubt and belief is observable in his treatment of miracles and

[1] II. 24. 3. [2] I. 131. 2; II. 47. 2; IV. 188. [3] VI. 106. 5.
[4] Thuc. VII. 50. [5] VII. 129. 5. See also VII. 189. 3; 191. 2.
[6] II. 53. 3.
[7] Compare κόσμῳ θέντες (II. 52. 2) with the διεκόσμησε of Anaxagoras (l. c.). [8] II. 55. 4. [9] II. 145. [10] II. 45. 4.

gifts of prophecy. He cannot believe that a dove spoke with human voice[1], yet he feels no difficulty in accepting and interpreting omens equally miraculous[2]. He pronounces the *μαντική* of Melampus to be an artificial invention, and hints at the bribery of the Pythia[3], yet he is a firm believer in the value of the art of divination and the truth of oracles. The hesitation which he displays about pronouncing against the popular mythology is partly to be attributed to a reverence for received tradition, partly to a love of mysticism and secrecy in religious observances, partly also, without doubt, to a fear of popular clamour.

If we put altogether on one side the received popular mythology, the attitude of Herodotus on religious questions becomes more definite and consistent. He believes in one God[4], a Providence, which orders all things wisely, and exercises a moral government over the world. Crime never escapes the eye or the avenging arm of God. Punishment assuredly falls, if not on the guilty man himself, yet on his descendants[5]—often not merely on the individual, but on the nation to which he belongs[6]. And wrong intention is a crime as well as wrong action—it is a sin to tempt God even in thought[7]. Undue prosperity in particular provokes the divine wrath. Preeminence savours of presumption, and the judgments of God seek out the mightiest men, as his lightnings strike the tallest trees. The God of Herodotus is a 'jealous' God, who suffers none to be proud except himself[8]. And strive as men may to avoid offence towards him, it is not always in their power to succeed. Their circumstances (if not their characters) are predestined by a power against which it is useless to struggle[9]. Fate is

[1] II. 57. 3.
[2] E. g. I. 78. 1; VII. 57. 1.
[3] II. 49. 5; V. 63. 1; VI. 66. 2.
[4] *ὁ θεός, τὸ θεῖον, ὁ δαίμων, τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη, θείη τύχη.*
[5] I. 13. 4; 91. 2; VII. 137. 3. [6] II. 120. 6.
[7] See the story of Glaucus, VI. 86.
[8] VII. 10. 13, 14. [9] IX. 16. 7.

stronger even than God[1]—how much more than man! Attempts to resist the will of God or destiny, even in the pursuit of what may seem right, are punished as crimes[2]. Man in his ignorance must not presume to judge the ways of God[3].

The terrible severity of this ultra-Calvinistic creed makes us wonder at the cheerfulness and serenity of temper which the writings of Herodotus exhibit. If he applied to himself the doctrines which he enforces in the case of Croesus, Xerxes, and the rest, he must have lived in continual fear of Nemesis—perpetually on the watch for some divine warning which might foreshadow his coming doom. Perhaps his doctrine of Nemesis is to be regarded as a philosophical tenet rather than a practical belief—an attempt to grasp that conception of 'law' and 'limit' in the universe, which was developed in the *πέρας* of the Pythagoreans and the *μεσότης* of Aristotle[4]. Or perhaps he felt that the obscurity and troubles of his life, the loss of his early home and his many wanderings, secured him against the envy of the divine power. At any rate his fatalism does not stifle a belief in the importance of human efforts. He thinks that wise counsel and good sense 'as a general rule' secure success and the divine favour[5]. But an undercurrent of sadness, which sometimes verges on despair, is traceable throughout his work. Life is short, yet it often seems too long. Even the happiest of men must many times wish to die rather than live[6]. God gives men a taste of the sweets of life[7], and then dashes the cup of happiness for ever[8] from their lips. And worst pain of all is the wisdom which foresees evil to come, when coupled with a feeling of powerlessness to do any good[9].

[1] I. 91. 1. It seems doubtful however whether this solitary statement is to be regarded as expressing Hdt.'s own belief.

[2] See II. 133.

[3] II. 3. 4; IX. 65. 3.

[4] See Grant's edition of Aristotle's Ethics, Essay IV., and compare Hdt.'s language at VII. 10. 13; VIII. 13. 3.

[5] VII. 157. 7; VIII. 60. 11.

[6] VII. 46. 4—6.

[7] *γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα*, l. c.

[8] No trace of any belief in a future state is to be discovered in his work

[9] *ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρα-*

In his natural philosophy, it has been said that Herodotus fell below the standard of his age. That he was not on a level with the speculations of the leading philosophers of the day, may be admitted, and is probably due in part to the religious scruples which he entertained on the subject. The explanation given by Anaxagoras of the inundations of the Nile, though condemned by Herodotus as false, is certainly more plausible scientifically, than the view which he himself adopts[1]. Many of his meteorological conceptions appear to us extremely childish[2], and the absence of definite language in his geographical descriptions[3] makes it impossible to construct with any certainty a map of 'the world as known to Herodotus.' Yet we cannot doubt that in his scientific views he was far in advance of the average Greek of his time. His geological speculations are often conceived in quite a modern spirit[4]. He ridicules the idea of a circumambient Oceanus, 'as round as if it were drawn by a pair of compasses,' and he refuses to believe the current fables about dogheaded or headless men, or men who annually become wolves[5], though he does not perhaps push his incredulity as far as he might have done. The many marvels which he had seen with his own eyes make him cautious about dogmatically pronouncing anything to be impossible. He contents himself with the statement so often repeated in his work—that he 'tells the tale as 'twas told to him[6].'

That the general veracity of Herodotus is not affected by these instances of over-credulity, has been universally admitted in modern, though it was denied in ancient times. Ctesias, court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon (about 400 B. C.),—the

τέειν, IX. 16. 8. Contrast this with Bacon's aphorism: 'scientia et potentia humana in idem coincidunt.'

[1] See II. 22; 24. [2] II. 24; 25; III. 104. 2.

[3] Especially in his description of Scythia, IV. 99 foll. Compare his use of ἀντίον and κατά, noticed at I. 201. 1.

[4] II. 5; 10; 11; 12; VII. 129. [5] IV. 36. 3; 191. 4; 105. 3, 4.

[6] ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω. εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν. IV. 195. 3.

author of a Persian history, some portions of which have been been preserved by Photius (Lexicographer, about 850 A.D.)—seems to have been the first to set the example of calling Herodotus a liar[1]. Manetho, the Egyptian historian (high-priest of the temple of Isis at Sebennytus, about 300 B.C.), whose works are unfortunately lost, is said to have written a book on purpose to correct the errors of Herodotus[2], and by Greek and Roman authors alike the titles of 'fabler' and 'legend-writer' have been freely applied to 'the father of history[3].' All these attacks may readily be pardoned except that of Ctesias. That Manetho had a strong case we may well believe: he seems moreover to have attributed the mistakes of Herodotus to ignorance[4]. And the language of Aristotle, Cicero, and others, though a little exaggerated, cannot be said to be wholly undeserved. But there can be no doubt that Ctesias purposely brought false charges against Herodotus, in order to enhance the reputation of his own work. The cuneiform inscriptions convict him of having manipulated facts and fabricated history to suit his own ends in the most bare-faced manner[5].

Whether Herodotus deserves to be called a 'historian,' is a mere question of words. He is not a historian in the modern sense of the term, nor does he approach so nearly to

[1] Photius says Κτησίας διέξεισι τὰ περὶ Κύρου καὶ Καμβύσου καὶ τοῦ μάγου Δαρείου καὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου, σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀντικείμενα Ἡροδότῳ ἱστορῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψευστὴν ἀπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποιὸν ἀποκαλῶν. *Biblio-thec. Cod.* LXII.

[2] See Kenrick, *Anc. Eg.* II. 88.

[3] Ἡρόδοτος ὁ μυθολόγος, Aristot. *de gen. an.* III. 5. 15 (cf. *hist. an.* III. 22. 2). 'Apud Herodotum patrem historiae innumerabiles fabulae,' Cic. *de legibus* I. 1; 'Herodotum cur veraciorem ducam Ennio?' *de div.* II. 56. 'Herodotus homo fabulator,' Aulus Gellius (2nd cent. A.D.) *Noct. Att.* III. 10. Ἡρόδοτος ὁ μυθογράφος, Themistius (4th cent. A.D.) 33. ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον (ἐπιδεικνύασιν) Ἡρόδοτον πάντες, Josephus *Adv. Ap.* I. 3.

[4] (Μανεθὼν) πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον. Joseph. l. c.

[5] See the introduction to Rawlinson's Herodotus, ch. 3.

the modern standard, as does Thucydides. He has been well called 'the Froissart of antiquity[1].' We must not expect in his pages keen historical insight, subtle tracing of hidden causes, careful sifting of conflicting testimony. Yet he has merits, in which many a historian of greater pretensions has been found wanting—diligence in collecting facts, impartiality in stating them, and an earnest desire to tell nothing but the truth. To wish that he had had higher merits than these—that he had been more of a 'historian'—would be a mistake. His discursiveness, his diffusiveness, his credulity, his discrepancies, his exaggerations—all his historical defects, in short—constitute a considerable part of the charm of his work. If Herodotus had been a Thucydides or a Macaulay, history might possibly have gained, but literature would certainly have suffered an irreparable loss.

On the last years of his life at Thurii tradition is almost silent. Apparently unmarried and childless, he must have had his interests mainly centred in his work, to which he probably made large additions after the completion of the first draft. If he died, as seems probable, not long after 430 B.C., he was happy in being taken away from the evil to come. He was spared the pain of seeing all Athenian hopes of victory collapse along with the Sicilian expedition—spared also the bitterness of the faction-fights which seem to have agitated Thurii about that time on the question of joining the Athenian alliance. He was buried, according to Suidas, in the city market-place, and the following commonplace stanza is stated on very questionable authority to have been the inscription on his tomb:—

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἥδε θανόντα,
Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίης πρύτανιν,
Δωριέων πάτρης βλαστόντ' ἄπο, τῶν ἄρ' ἄπλητον
Μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγὼν Θούριον ἔσχε πάτρην.

[1] De Quincy, *On Style*.

ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS, WITH SPECIMENS OF EARLY GREEK PROSE-WRITING.

THE advance made by Herodotus in the history of Greek literary composition, great as it was, cannot be compared, in point of importance, with the advance made by the first writer who ventured to throw aside the fetters of metre and compose in prose. Though short prose-documents [1], drawn up for some practical purpose, may be supposed to have existed very soon after the introduction of writing, it seems nearly certain that the cultivation of prose, as a branch of literature, does not date back much beyond the middle of the 6th century B.C. The general causes of the introduction of prose may be traced with tolerable accuracy [2]; the particular occasion is unknown [3]. Clearly at first the change was very gradual. The new style of composition, as we know from the fragments remaining, was applied to the same class of subjects as the old [4], and dealt with them in the same way. The diction and vocabulary were almost unaltered. It was only after many successive modifications that a distinct prose-style was produced.

[1] See Mure, *Anc. Gr. Lit.* IV. 51.

[2] See Creuzer, *Die historische Kunst der Griechen*, p. 30 (2nd ed.).

[3] The invention of prose-writing is attributed by different traditions to Cadmus of Miletus, Acusilaus of Argos, and the elder Pherecydes. The first of these is a mere name to us, and very possibly the result of a Milesian adaptation of the legend about the Boeotian Cadmus. Mure, l. c.

[4] As is also implied in the tradition that Acusilaus translated Hesiod into prose. So Creuzer says 'that man must be called the first logographer, who first narrated the legends in prose' (l. c. p. 53).

The first introduction of prose-composition in the sphere of literature may in some points be compared with the introduction of photography in the sphere of the fine arts. The discovery of an art which required less special aptitude for its practice, than that which had hitherto been the sole form of expression, opened the possibility of composition to a much wider field. A certain crudeness in the early attempts was no doubt inevitable. But it was gradually seen that exactness of expression was far more within the reach of the new arts than of the older ones. The grandeur of conception and the picturesqueness of image, which had been the characteristics of painting and poetry, were gradually seen to be more or less unattainable by photography and prose. Clearness, precision, and fidelity of detail gradually became the excellences at which the new generation of artists aimed.

We find it so difficult to conceive a state of things in which prose-literature did not exist, that we are rather apt to underestimate the difficulties which the early prose-writers must have experienced. The very same phrases and turns of expression, which in poetry would have been perfectly natural and adequate, seem harsh and lame, when no longer aided by the movement of the sonorous hexameter. The following specimens of early Greek prose[1] will illustrate the gradual development of the art of prose-composition, and explain some characteristics — to be afterwards noticed — of the style of Herodotus.

(1) Pherecydes of Syros (philosopher, about 560 B.C.).[2]

Ζεὺς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος εἰς ἀεὶ καὶ Χθὼν ἦν. Χθονίῃ δὲ ὄνομα[3] ἐγένετο Γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γέρας διδοῖ.

[1] The fragments of Pherecydes are taken from Sturz, *Pherecydis Fragmenta* (pp. 40, 46, 2nd ed. 1834), those of Heraclitus from Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Philosoph.* (30, 31), the remainder from Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* Several of them are given (in Greek or English) in Mure's 4th volume.

[2] Not to be confused with the later historian, Pherecydes of Leros, who flourished about 450 B.C.

[3] The dialectical forms in this and the other fragments are quite untrustworthy. See p. xlii.

Ζὰς ποιεῖ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ καλόν. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει Γῆν καὶ Ὠγῆνον (=Ὠκεανὸν) καὶ τὰ Ὠγήνου δώματα (Ὤγενον καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν δώματα conj. Wakefield).

(2) Acusilaus of Argos (λογογράφος, about 550 B.C.).
Ὠκεανὸς δὲ γαμεῖ Τηθὺν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφήν. Τῶν δὲ γίγνονται τρισχίλιοι ποταμοί. Ἀχελῷος δὲ αὐτῶν πρεσβύτατος, καὶ τετίμηται μάλιστα.

(3) Hecataeus of Miletus (λογογράφος, about 510 B.C.).
Κάπρος ἦν ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ Ψωφιδίους κακὰ πολλὰ ἔοργεν.
Ὀρεσθεὺς ὁ Δευκαλίωνος ἦλθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ· καὶ κύων αὐτῷ στέλεχος ἔτεκε· καὶ ὃς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κατορυχθῆναι· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔφυ ἄμπελος πολυστάφυλος· διὸ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα Φύτιον ἐκάλεσε. Τούτου δὲ Οἰνεὺς ἐγένετο, κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων. Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἕλληνες οἴνας ἐκάλουν τὰς ἀμπέλους. Οἰνέως δὲ ἐγένετο Αἰτωλός[1].

(4) Heraclitus of Ephesus (philosopher, about 500 B.C.).
Πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὖτίς τε Ξενοφάνεα καὶ Ἑκαταῖον.
τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος αἰεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον· γινομένων γὰρ πάντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ἀπείροισιν ἐοίκασι πειρώμενοι καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων τοιουτέων, ὁκοίων ἐγὼ διηγεῦμαι, διαιρέων κατὰ φύσιν καὶ φράζων ὅκως ἔχει.

(5) Charon of Lampsacus (λογογράφος, wrote as late as 465 B.C.).
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εἴκοσι τριήρεσιν ἔπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσοντες τοῖσι Ἴωσι, καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο. καὶ εἷλον τὰ περὶ Σάρδεις ἅπαντα, χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιληΐου· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπαναχωροῦσι εἰς Μίλητον.
Καὶ λευκαὶ περιστεραὶ τότε πρῶτον εἰς Ἕλληνας ἐφάνησαν, πρότερον οὐ γιγνόμεναι[2].

(6) Xanthus, a Lydian of Sardis (λογογράφος, contemporary with Charon).
Ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοί, ἀπὸ δὲ Τορρήβου Τόρρηβοι· τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι συλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς.

The shortness of many of these fragments prevents us from feeling sure that we have in all cases a perfectly fair specimen of the style of individual writers[3]. Yet, taken together, the

[1] For another fragment of Hecataeus, see note on Hdt. II. 45. 1.

[2] For another fragment of Charon, see note on Hdt. I. 160. 5.

[3] Hermogenes attributes much greater elegance to the style of Hecataeus than the existing remains would seem to warrant: πολὺ δὲ ἔχει καὶ ἡ λέξις (Ἑκαταίου) καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν, οἷον σχήματα, κῶλα, συνθῆκαι, ῥυθμοί, ἀναπαύσεις, πρὸς τὸ ἡδονὰς ποιῆσαι καὶ γλυκύτητας, οἷαί εἰσιν αἱ παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ (περὶ ἰδεῶν, II. 12. 6).

passages are sufficient to give us a fair idea of the progress made in prose composition during the 100 years (or thereabouts), over which they extend. The following points are especially noticeable:—(1) The poetical (and even metrical[1]) expressions, which are found in the early fragments, seem gradually to die out. In the passages quoted from Charon and Xanthus no phrase or word occurs which we might not expect to find used by Herodotus. (2) A gradually increasing facility in the construction of sentences seems traceable. Participial clauses, which are altogether absent in the earlier fragments, appear in the later ones—at first employed (e.g. in the second passage quoted from Heraclitus) with a certain amount of awkwardness, afterwards with more freedom. Yet (3) no trace is to be discovered, even in the later passages, of any complexity of structure. The narrative is carried on by the accumulation of single sentences (generally connected by conjunctive particles), each consisting of little more than a main verb with its subject and object. The use of 'subordinate construction' (i.e. of dependent clauses) is not as yet fully developed. The construction employed is that which is called by the grammarians 'paratactic' or 'coordinate.'

Herodotus—who stands on the border-line between this earlier semi-poetical and the later rhetorical school of composition—exhibits, as we should expect, points both of resemblance and of contrast, when compared with the λογογράφοι.

(1) Though we no longer find in the language of Herodotus that close approximation to poetical forms which gives the early prose-compositions an air of being translated poems, examples of poetical diction and picturesque phraseology may be found in abundance, and constitute one of the chief charms of his style. We may take as instances his personification of inanimate objects[2] (which sometimes involves a quaintness of

[1] The first passage quoted from Hecataeus contains half a hexameter, and the passage from Acusilaus 'seems to be made up in great part of fragments of dactylic metre.' Mure.

[2] E.g. ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, I. 34. 2: ἡ λίμνη καταβάλλει, II. 149. 6. Com-

metaphor)[1], and his use of ornamental epithets[2]. The frequency with which these occur, and the evident absence of any sense of incongruity in their use on the part of the writer, are to be mainly explained by the fact that the prose of Herodotus has not lost all traces of its poetical origin. Some examples however of his poetical diction may with considerable certainty be referred to a conscious or unconscious imitation by Herodotus of the epic writers. The influence of Homer on his diction is unmistakeable[3]. Many of his shorter dialogues, both in particular turns of expression and in their general effect, read almost like adaptations of Homeric conversations, and the number of epic phrases which he has employed is very considerable. We cannot trace with certainty the influence of any other school of poetry on his diction. The plays of Aeschylus (with which he was acquainted[4]) may possibly have coloured his theological views[5], but they have not materially modified his style. And although some very striking correspondences exist between the language of Sophocles and that of Herodotus[6], it seems more probable on the whole that Sophocles borrowed from Herodotus, than Herodotus from Sophocles[7].

(2) and (3) While Herodotus shows much greater freedom and facility in the structure of his sentences than the earlier λογογράφοι, he still in the main may be said to reproduce the

pare the language used about the river at I. 189. 1, 2; and the phrase *τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων*, II. 77. 2.

[1] E.g. the use of *δάκρυον* for the gum of a tree (II. 96. 1), and the use of *οἰκέει* at II. 166. 1.

[2] Such as *οὐρανομήκεα* (II. 138. 4).

[3] See p. xlviii.

[4] See II. 156. 7.

[5] The doctrine of *νέμεσις* is more directly traceable in Aeschylus than in either of the other tragedians.

[6] See notes I. 37. 2, 3; II. 35. 3, and compare III. 119. 8 with Soph. *Ant.* 905, and IV. 99. 5 with Soph. *El.* 62. The correspondence between IV. 129. 3 and *El.* 27 proves very little.

[7] See the discussion of this point by Hermann in Bähr's *Excursus* on III. 110.

mannerism of the Ionic school of composition. In the narrative portions of his work the 'paratactic' form of construction is that which is generally employed. It is on this account that Aristotle[1] has selected Herodotus as an example of the 'jointed' style of composition (λέξις εἰρομένη) in opposition to the 'periodic' style (ἡ κατεστραμμένη, ἡ ἐν τοῖς περιόδοις) of the later rhetorical schools. By this he means (as he explains) that the sentences of Herodotus are strung together in a loose and inartificial way, so that no close or finish is necessarily reached, until the whole narration has been completed[2]. In the commentary which follows, some examples have been noticed of the employment of 'paratactic' modes of construction, where later writers would have used subordinate clauses[3]. Yet it seems a mistake to classify Herodotus without qualification as a writer of the unperiodic—or, as it is sometimes called, 'sententious'—style. We may with more accuracy distinguish between three styles of composition which seem to be traceable in his writings. (α) In some few descriptive passages—probably where he is closely following, and directly influenced by, the language of the λογογράφοι[4]—we trace all the ultra-simplicity of statement and harshness of connection which characterized earlier essays in prose. (β) Through the greater part of the narrative his style corresponds in its main features with the fragments which we possess of Charon and Xanthus, though there is much more ease and freedom observable in the structure and combination of his sentences. (γ) In some passages, which generally occur in speeches, he becomes rhetorical. We

[1] *Rhet.* III. 9. 2. It is curious that another ancient critic by an inversion of metaphor should have described this same style as 'disjointed' (διῃρημένη). Demetr. *de Eloc.* 12.

[2] λέγω δὲ εἰρομένην, ἣ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὑτήν, ἂν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ. l. c. 'The λέξις εἰρομένη (εἴρω, εἴριον) which may be *drawn out* like wool or thread to any length, provided the material lasts, may be illustrated by the seaman's phrase of *spinning a long yarn.*' Kenrick.

[3] See I. 61. 7; 173. 3; II. 93. 8.

[4] Notice e.g. the language at II. 71. 2, where he is supposed to be following Hecataeus.

seem in these to be able to trace the roundness and elaborateness—and even occasionally the artifices—of a sophistic ἐπίδειξις[1].

The happy mean between jejuneness and turgidity, which characterizes the greater part of his work, is one point in which the style of Herodotus resembles the conversation of a well-informed and well-bred talker. Whether there is any truth in the story of the Olympic recitation, or not, his writings remind us much more of a man who is telling the story of his travels in natural unpremeditated language to a few familiar friends, than of one who is reciting a studied composition before a large audience. His redundancies[2] and repetitions[3], his frequent ἀνακόλουθα[4], his occasional use of the second person singular (with reference to the reader)[5], and his invariable practice of referring to himself in the first person—so unlike the dignified reserve of Thucydides—are all illustrations of this conversational style. Some modern commentators[6] have seen in his redundancies and repetitions the garrulity and forgetfulness of old age. But there is a sustained strength about the work, which prevents us from believing that the greater part of it was composed when his powers had begun to decline. And though diffuse, he is rarely—if ever—prolix. When force is to be gained by brevity, he can be brief[7]. The redundancies of his work must be ascribed, not to the old age of the writer, but to the infancy of the age in which he wrote.

The leading characteristics of the diction and syntactical construction of Herodotus have now been stated. It remains

[1] See I. 207. 2, 7, 9; III. 80—82; V. 49; VII. 8—11.

[2] See II. 77. 7, n.

[3] See notes on II. 10. 3; 124. 4.

[4] Those of most common occurrence are the irregular use of the genitive absolute (e.g. I. 3. 3; 178. 3), and the coordination of participle and finite verb (see notes on I. 8. 2; 85. 2).

[5] See II. 105. 1, n.

[6] Notably Jäger, *Disputationes Herodoteae*, p. 17.

[7] Kenrick quotes in illustration of this the use of the simple words μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε (of Xerxes at the Hellespont), VII. 45.

to attempt an estimate, on more general grounds, of his merits as a writer.

The 'epic unity' of the ἱστορίαι has become a commonplace of criticism. The feud between Greek and Barbarian, with a statement of which the narrative commences, is exemplified in turn by the conquests of Crœsus and Cyrus, by the Ionic revolt and the defeats of Xerxes. The final catastrophes of Salamis, Platæa, and Mycale are viewed by the historian as possibly direct (though distant) results of the abduction of Io and the Trojan war. From beginning to end of the book the one great truth is continually illustrated, that 'pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.'

The interference with this unity of plot caused by the insertion of episodes, is rather apparent than real. The introduction of episodes is as much a characteristic of epic poetry, as is unity of design, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus supposes that the episodes of Herodotus are the result of a conscious imitation of Homer[1]. We shall be safer in attributing them to the fact that Herodotus in this point, as in others, was a descendant of the earlier λογογράφοι,—whose works were so largely devoted to mythological and geographical subjects. His purpose was not so much to write a 'history' in the modern sense of the term, as to record 'the actions and the mighty and marvellous works of men, both Greeks and Barbarians.' If his primary object was a statement of the causes which led to the Persian war, it was almost equally important in his eyes to give an account of the results of his travels. To criticise any of his episodes therefore on account of 'their frivolous character[2]' is an anachronism. The mere fact that a 'marvel' (or what he believed to be such) existed, was with him a

[1] συνειδὼς γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος, ὅτι πᾶσα μῆκος ἔχουσα διήγησις, ἂν μὲν ἀναπαύσεις τινὰς λαμβάνῃ, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἡδέως διατίθησιν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένῃ πραγμάτων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτυγχάνηται, λυπεῖ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῷ κόρῳ, ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφήν, Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴς γενόμενος. *De Thucyd. jud.* p. 771 Reiske.

[2] Mure, IV. 464.

sufficient justification for incorporating an account of it into his work. It is true that he occasionally seems to apologise for his digressions [1], but his language implies no more than a fear that he may seem unnecessarily tedious. Whether all the episodes formed part of the original draft of the work is uncertain. That this was not the case may possibly be inferred from the fact that in one or two (but very few) passages they seem awkward and out of place in the connection in which they occur [2]. The introduction of one or two of the later episodes in Book IX. must be also pronounced an artistic error [3], and the addition of the final chapter certainly spoils the effect of what would otherwise be the concluding picture—the victorious return of the Athenian fleet from the Hellespont. Perhaps this last part was never quite finished [4]. Still the episodes, taken altogether, are probably the most attractive, as well as the largest, portion of the work. Specially happy is the arrangement—whether due to the nature of the subject, or the art of the historian—by which most of the longer ones are contained in the earlier books, so that the interest in the later books centres almost entirely on the collision between Persia and Greece.

In the insertion of dialogues and speeches in his work, Herodotus followed beyond all doubt the custom of earlier λογογράφοι. We can hardly suppose that we should find speeches employed in the histories of both Thucydides and Xenophon, had the use of them been for the first time introduced by Herodotus. Their original employment seems to have been the result partly of the practice of the Epic poets, partly of the prevalence of public oratory in Greek social

[1] See II. 135. 7; IV. 30. 1.

[2] E.g. II. 164. 1. The examples which Mure quotes (III. 117; IV. 37; VII. 239) seem more questionable.

[3] Especially IX. 108—113.

[4] Mure thinks that the final chapter is 'intended as a sort of concluding moral commentary.' Yet we should hardly have had καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο in the preceding chapter, had the book been originally intended to end as it does at present.

and political life[1]. The speeches and dialogues of Herodotus clearly do not lay any claim to historical accuracy, though he nowhere definitely states his position with regard to them, as Thucydides has done[2]. In many cases it is obviously impossible that any authority for them should have been accessible, in others the sentiments attributed to the speakers are wholly inappropriate[3]. Yet the style of the dialogues is perfect of its kind. They are never wearisome or insipid—always simple and natural. The conversational style which pervades the whole work almost prevents our noticing the transitions from narrative to dialogue, and the ease with which his characters are made to speak for themselves reminds us of Homer. The rhetorical style of some of the longer speeches has been already noticed. Yet even these are far more pleasing in form than the more elaborate orations of Thucydides. The characteristic differences between the speeches of the two historians have been well hit off by Marcellinus[4], who calls the speeches of Thucydides 'oratorical' (δημηγόριαι), those of Herodotus 'dramatic' compositions (προσωποποΐιαι). We are able to picture to ourselves the conversations of Croesus and Atys, of Amasis and his courtiers, as fragments of a prose tragedy or comedy, whereas to find a parallel for the speeches of the Platæans and Thebans, or for the Melian controversy, we must go to the Ecclesia or the law-courts. This dramatic element in the speeches of Herodotus leads us to another point of difference between him and Thucydides. It is by their speeches and actions alone that the characters of his *dramatis personae* can be estimated. He never attempts descriptions of character. Such a dissection of dry bones would have been foreign to his temperament. But the success with which his living characters are made to tell their own tale is a mark perhaps of a higher kind of genius[5].

[1] Mure, IV. 501. [2] Thuc. I. 22.
[3] E. g. III. 80—82. Compare I. 32. 2, note. [4] *Vit. Thucyd.* 38.
[5] For examples of the skill which Herodotus displays in character-drawing, see Mure, IV. 473 foll.

There are several minor characteristics of the style of Herodotus, which deserve a passing notice. (1) The gnomic vein is very distinctly traceable in his writings. A considerable collection might be made of his pithy and proverbial sayings[1]. (2) The exaggerations of language, in which he sometimes allows himself to indulge, are very remarkable. They occur, as a rule, in matters of small moment, and seem to be used simply for the sake of effect[2]. (3) He has a strong appreciation of 'smartness,' both in speech and action. The anecdotes which he tells with the greatest gusto are those which turn on some clever trick or sharp saying[3]. (4) His sense of the comic is unmistakeable, though its existence has been doubted. Perhaps not more than four or five passages could be cited, in which the language seems actually designed to raise a laugh[4]. But there is a fund of dry humour, which shows itself in little phrases and unexpected remarks[5]. The dryness, with which Herodotus relates the quaint customs of other nations, leaves us sometimes in doubt, whether he is laughing or not[6]. (5) We can detect occasionally traces of a genial sarcasm, which seldom however goes beyond the merest innuendo[7]. (6) Of the deeper tragic irony—so common in the plays of Sophocles—several instances may be found. Herodotus regards mankind as a blind instrument in the hands of destiny. Often the very means, which men employ to avert an evil, are represented as serving only the more surely to bring it upon them. Often the words, which they use in their blindness, are exhibited in the most pathetic contrast with the real tendencies of their actions[8]. (7) His power of pathos hardly requires illustration.

[1] E.g. I. 74. 5; III. 53. 4, 5; 36. 2.

[2] Thus the exaggerations at II. 35, 36 are clearly due to a wish to heighten the contrast between Egyptians and Greeks.

[3] E.g. I. 27. 4; 187. 6; II. 121; 133. 5.

[4] Rawlinson quotes III. 99. 3; IV. 61. 4; VI. 125. 5.

[5] See I. 36. 2; 59. 6; II. 121. 24; 147. 2.

[6] E.g. I. 172. 3; 215. 3.

[7] I. 29. 1; 147. 2; II. 143. 1.

[8] See e.g. the story of Adrastus, especially the language at I. 42. 2.

If the fostering of pity is to be accounted a crime, Herodotus deserves, at least as much as Homer, to be placed on Plato's *index expurgatorius*[1].

It is impossible to characterise in a single phrase the merits of Herodotus as a writer. Perhaps of all the titles, which have been bestowed upon him, the vague epithet 'honey-tongued[2]' most adequately expresses the feeling with which we rise from a perusal of his work. The variety of his style almost defies analysis. And yet its charm has been universally recognized. The assailants of his kindliness and veracity have never ventured to attack his literary merits. The collection of passages which follows exhibits some of the more important judgments which were passed upon his writings in ancient times, and little advance has been made beyond them by modern criticism. It is somewhat singular that so few references to his work are to be found in writers of the classical period. Thucydides appears to have read it[3]: Aristophanes occasionally parodies passages from it (e.g. I. 179. 4). But no mention of Herodotus seems to occur in the extant works of Plato or the orators. Aristotle's solitary remark upon his style has been already quoted.

Alter (Herodotus) sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit: alter (Thucydides) incitatior fertur, et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.

CICERO, *Orator*, 13. See also *De Legibus*, I. I (pater historiae); *De Oratore*, II. 13; and *Orator*, 55.

(Ἡρόδοτος) *κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποικιλίαν, μακρῷ δή τινι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερεβάλετο, καὶ παρεσκεύασε τῇ κρατίστῃ ποιήσει τὴν πεζὴν φράσιν ὁμοίαν γενέσθαι.*

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus (fl. c. 30 B.C.), *De Thucyd. Hist. judicium*, p. 865 Reiske.

τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε τῆς τε αὐστηρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἡδείας ἁρμονίας μέσην εἶναι τήνδε τὴν λέξιν. . . . ᾗ κέχρηται Ἡρόδοτος;

ID. *De vi dicendi in Demosth.* p. 1083.

[1] See Plato's *Republic*, 606 c.

[2] *μελίγηρυς*, Athenaeus, III. 15.

[3] Thuc. I. 20. 4; II. 97. 7. The 'Summary' of Thucydides (I. 89—118) forms a regular continuation of the history of Herodotus.

ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἠθικοῖς κρατεῖ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παθητικοῖς ὁ Θουκυδίδης . . . ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ χάριτι καὶ τῷ ἀφελεῖ αὐτοφυεῖ ἀβασανίστῳ, μακρῷ διενεγκόντα τὸν Ἡρόδοτον εὑρίσκομεν.

ID. *De vet. script. cens.* p. 425. See also *De comp. verb.* pp. 16, 133, 187; *De praecip. Hist.* pp. 767, 775; *De Thucyd. jud.* p. 826.

Densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides; dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus; ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior, ille concionibus, hic sermonibus, ille vi, hic voluptate.

QUINTILIAN (fl. c. 80 A.D.), *Inst. Orat.* X. I. 73. See also the passage quoted on p. liv.

Ἡροδότῳ μὲν οὖν, εἴποτε εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐντεύξῃ. τὸ γὰρ ἀνειμένον καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέξει μυθῶδες μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορικὸν τὸ σύγγραμμα εἶναι.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM (fl. c. 100 A.D.), *Orat.* XVIII (p. 479 Reiske).

ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς καθ' ἱστορίαν πανηγυρικοῖς πανηγυρικώτατός ἐστιν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, τὸ δ' αἴτιον ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ εὐκρινοῦς πολύς ἐστι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς· καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἐννόαις μυθικαῖς σχεδὸν ἁπάσαις καὶ τῇ λέξει ποιητικῇ κέχρηται διόλου· μέγεθος δὲ πολλαχοῦ μὲν ἔχει καὶ τὸ κατ' ἔννοιαν, κατὰ μέντοι ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ συναμφότερον καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἔχει καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ῥυθμῶν αὐτῷ κατά τε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τὰς βάσεις δακτυλικοί τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀναπαιστικοί, σπονδειακοί τε καὶ ὅλως σεμνοί.

HERMOGENES (fl. c. 170 A.D.), *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, II. 12. 4.

μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο;

LONGINUS (fl. c. 250 A.D.), *περὶ ὕψους*, 13. 3.

ἴσθι ὅτι μέσῳ μὲν (χαρακτῆρι) Ἡρόδοτος ἐχρήσατο, ὃς οὔτε ὑψηλός ἐστιν, οὔτε ἰσχνός, ἰσχνῷ δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν.

MARCELLINUS (date uncertain), *Vita Thucyd.* 40.

ON THE DIALECT OF HERODOTUS.

THE causes which led the Dorian Herodotus to write in the Ionic dialect have been already mentioned[1]. Nor is it wonderful that the merits of his style, when contrasted with the efforts of earlier chroniclers and later imitators, should have earned for him the title of 'the best standard of Ionic[2].' Yet there can be but little doubt that the *dialect* of Herodotus (in contradistinction to his style) has no claim whatever to this title. The true standard of 'pure' Ionic prose may be looked for in the works (or fragments) of Pherecydes or Hecatæus or Democritus or Hippocrates—it cannot be found in Herodotus. His Muses, like the Ionic women of his time, are clothed in a garb 'of many colours[3].'

This many-sided character of the dialect of Herodotus results from the introduction of (1) Epic, (2) Attic, and (3) Doric forms. It will be convenient to notice each of these separately.

(1) No one can read the works of Homer and Herodotus,

[1] See p. x.

[2] ἡ καθαρὰ τοῖσι ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα σώζουσα διάλεκτος. ταύτην ἀκριβοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι. Ἡρόδοτός τε γὰρ τῆς Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανὼν, Θουκυδίδης τε τῆς Ἀτθίδος. Dionysius Halicarn. *de praecip. Hist.* p. 775 Reiske.

[3] Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφέληται ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ... τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἀκράτῳ Ἰάδι καὶ οὐ μεμιγμένῃ χρησάμενος οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ποικίλῃ, ἧττόν ἐστιν ἕνεκά γε λέξεως ποιητικός. Hermogenes περὶ ἰδεῶν, II. 12. 6. (Ἡρόδοτος) καὶ ἄλλων διαλέκτων ἐχρήσατό τισιν λέξεσιν. *Ib.* II. 4. ὃς (Ἱπποκράτης) ἀκράτῳ τῇ Ἰάδι χρῆται· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος συμμίσγει αὐτὴν τῇ ποιητικῇ. Bachm. *Anecd.* II. p. 367, cited by Bredow.

as we possess them at the present day, without being struck with the number of points which they have in common. Not merely do the style and syntax of Herodotus resemble to a great extent those of Homer—a fact which has already been noticed[1],—but there is an equally strong resemblance between the forms of the words and the modes of inflexion &c. employed in the two works. We find a considerable number of word-forms which are almost invariably common to both. There are others which are frequently employed in the one, and are of occasional occurrence in the other. And yet we are prevented from attaching too much importance to these coincidences by the fact that there are equally characteristic dialectical divergences[2]. How are these correspondences to be explained? This question admits of several answers, each of which probably contains some portion of the truth.

[1] See p. xxxi.

[2] Only the barest possible outline can here be given of the main points of contact and divergence between the Homeric and the Herodotean dialects.

The two dialects (almost) invariably agree in the use of *η* for *α* (*νεηνίης, θώρηξ, τριήκοντα, σοφίη, περήσω, κοιλῆναι*) :—of *ου* for *ο*, and of *ει* for *ε* in several identical words (*μοῦνος, νοῦσος, εἴρομαι, ξεῖνος*) :—of the uncontracted *ε* before *η*, *ῃ*, *ω*, *οι* in verbs ending in *έω*, and of the uncontracted *α* in *ἀείρω, ἀείδω, ἄεθλος*.

They often agree in the use of *ευ* for *εο*, *ου* (*ἐμεῦ, ποιεῦντες*) :—of *εα* (*εη*) for *εια* in the fem. terminations of adjs. in *υς* (*βαθέη, δασέα*) :—in the *diaeresis* of diphthongs (*τείχεϊ, ὀϊστός, Θρῆιξ*) :—and in the forms *ἰθύς* for *εὐθύς*, *σύν* for *ξύν*, *ἠώς* for *ἕως* etc. In the declension of pronouns and nouns and in the conjugation of verbs they have many forms in common which are unlike the later Attic.

They occasionally agree in the use of certain unattic verbal and prepositional forms (Hdt. has *ἐνέοι, κομόωσι, εἰδόμενον, ἀέξειν, ὑπείροχος, ὑπέκ, Παραιβάτης*) :—in the use of the dat. plur. in *εσσι*, and of derivatives from the epic gen. in *ηος* (Hdt. has *δαιτυμόνεσι, Βασιληΐδεω*) : and in the *apocope* of *ἀνα* before *β* and *π* (*ἀμβώσας, ἀμπαύονται*).

The main points in which the Herodotean dialect diverges from the Homeric are the avoidance of the aspirate and of the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*,—the constant substitution of *κ* for *π* in certain words (*κοῦ, κῶς*), and of *εω* for *αο* and *αω*,—the avoidance of the epic gen. in *οιο*,—and of suffixes and forms in *μι* (though more of these are to be found than in Attic).

(i) Some points of resemblance are very possibly to be attributed to the fact that there is a real affinity between the two dialects. The Greek grammarians implied their belief in this affinity by distinguishing between two forms of the Ionic dialect—the ἀρχαία Ἰάς, by which they merely meant the Epic, and the νέα, in which Herodotus wrote. Whether the Homeric dialect can without an anachronism be in any sense called Ionic, we are unable at present to determine:—the original character of the Ionic dialect and the compilation of our present Homeric text are questions which have not yet received a solution. But without venturing to regard the extant Homeric dialect as the growth of any one particular period, it is perfectly possible to maintain that the resemblances mentioned above prove the direct or collateral descent of the Ionic prose dialect from the earlier Epic. Some of the forms, which are common to the Epic and Herodotean dialects, are also to be found in the works and fragments of other Ionic writers of the age of Herodotus. These clearly must be regarded as characteristics of the Ionic dialect, and not as peculiarities of Herodotus. Unfortunately the materials which exist are not sufficient to enable us to construct with accuracy a table of the Ionicisms which are common to all the prose writers of the time[1]. We are often therefore unable to determine

[1] The fragments which survive of contemporary Ionic writers, though considerable in point of quantity, are almost worthless for determining with any fulness or accuracy the nature of the Ionic dialect of the time. The writers who quote them seem, as a rule, to have preferred to modify and alter their Ionicisms, so as to bring them more into harmony with the later forms. And there can be no doubt that the quotations given are often extremely inexact. We find however among the fragments of Hecataeus the forms καλεύμενος, οὔρεα, δοκέω, and the like. The only writer of the time, whose works have been preserved *in extenso* is Hippocrates, whose text is in a very unsatisfactory state, and whose different treatises (on the assumption that they are all, or nearly all, genuine) display the most extraordinary discrepancies of idiom and style. A laborious pamphlet on the particles used by Hippocrates has been recently compiled by H. Kühlewein (*Observationes de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumferuntur. Gottingae*, 1870), which well

whether an Epic form used by Herodotus is really an Ionicism or not. But we may safely pronounce many of his Epic forms to be the result, not so much of the dialect in which he wrote, as of a modification of that dialect peculiar to himself.

(ii) It is probable that some of the Epic forms which are to be found in our present texts of Herodotus were not really employed by Herodotus himself. The fluctuation of dialectical forms in the existing MSS. is so great that we cannot but suspect in some cases the hand of the corrector. An Alexandrian grammarian with a strong view about the affinity of the Epic and Herodotean dialects might well conceive it to be his duty to alter the forms in his copies of the text in accordance with his theory. In most recent editions of Herodotus many Epic forms, which appeared in the earlier editions, have been (probably rightly) removed, though some uncertainty must always attend this mode of cutting the knot[1].

(iii) It has been suggested[2] that the points of similarity which exist in our present texts of Homer and Herodotus are mainly due to a thorough recension of the text of Homer made about the time of Herodotus. That some of the existing dialectical correspondences are the result of a modification

illustrates this. In some treatises we often find οὖν between preposition and verb (cf. Hdt. I. 194. 6)—most commonly (but not invariably) with an aorist—in others it does not occur once. In some μήν is frequently used—in others not at all. The difficulties which encompass the writings of Hippocrates have not yet been resolved.

[1] We may take as a good example of an epic form which has thus been removed, the declension of nouns in -ευς. Struve (see p. lii.) found that the epic forms of βασιλεύς (βασιλῆος, ῆι, ῆα etc.) occurred in all the MSS. without variation in 65 instances; that the readings varied between βασιλῆος, βασιλέος, βασιλέως etc. in 252 instances; and that the form βασιλέος occurred without variation in 162 instances. Out of 500 instances of other nouns in -ευς he found that the epic form only occurred in five cases, and that the MSS. were not unanimous in these. *Quaest. de dial. Herod. Spec.* II. The result of this investigation has been the adoption of the forms έος, έϊ, έα *in all cases* by a large majority of recent editors.

[2] By Paley. See *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, Vol. XI. Part II.; and the prefaces to Paley's editions of the *Iliad.*

of the Homeric forms is very probable. We can hardly suppose that the existing Homeric text dates in its entirety from a period long before the age of Herodotus. Nor can we doubt that minor alterations and interpolations were made even in later times. But the assumption of a late recension—so thoroughgoing and complete as seriously to modify the existing dialectical forms, and to introduce a large number of new Ionicisms, which are the main cause of the present correspondence between the Homeric and Herodotean texts—involves very great difficulties.

A brief outline must be given of this recent hypothesis, which, as its author admits, 'outstrips in boldness the speculations of Wolf and his followers.' It is maintained that the Homer of the older Greek writers, 'the Homer which Pisistratus is said to have collected and introduced into Athens,' was something quite different from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which we now possess: that some single[1] poet (probably about the time of Herodotus or Pericles) constructed our present Homer out of old Homeric materials (i.e. out of the so-called Cyclic poetry), 'largely rewriting the poems, and introducing into them, among the purposely retained archaic forms, the great mass of diction and idiom which they now present of a character unmistakeably *late*;' that he gave to these new poems two titles already known and received, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ('the former being a complete misnomer'), and that these two works 'passed into the lists of written literature as 'Homer,' and had well-nigh eclipsed and excluded all the rest in the time of Plato.' Of the arguments by which this theory is supported it is only necessary for our present purpose to notice two of the most important—(α) the external argument derived from the quotations from Homer to be found in the earlier Greek writers, (β) the internal argument based on an examination

[1] Paley rightly allows that the 'one mind and one feeling' which pervade the *Iliad* make it impossible to regard it as the work of more than one poet. This argument of course applies with still greater force to the *Odyssey*.

of the diction and idioms employed in our present *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Both these arguments have a direct bearing on questions relating to Herodotus.

(*a*) Of the strength of the former class of arguments the references to Homer in Herodotus may be taken as a test. He quotes or refers to Homer several times[1], and it is in his works that we first read of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by name. Were his copies substantially the same as ours? All the four[2] passages which he cites from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* occur in exactly the same form in our present copies. The semi-quotation at VII. 161 is also quite reconcileable with our existing version of the *Iliad*. It is true that he makes a statement[3] about Homer which would scarcely be true, if he meant nothing by Homer but our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But no one denies that Herodotus (though pronouncing against the Homeric authorship of the *Cypria* and doubting about the *Epigoni*) attributed to Homer many poems besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and his statement may fairly be regarded as a reference to one (or more) of these. It is also true that there are reasons for thinking that in one point his version of the *Iliad* differed from our own[4]. But if this is the case, it can hardly be held sufficient by itself to outweigh the evidence on the other side. On the whole, though it would be absurd to maintain that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Herodotus were in all points exactly the same as our own, it is hardly an overstatement to assert that the evidence of a general correspondence between the two is very strong indeed[5].

[1] The passages are II. 23; 53; 116; 117; IV. 29; 32; V. 67; VII. 161.

[2] Assuming the genuineness of II. 116. 4, 5.

[3] At II. 53 (see note).

[4] See II. 116. 4, note. Paley maintains that the language in the early part of this ch. implies that Hdt.'s *Iliad* differed from ours (1) in containing 'the wanderings of Paris,' (2) in not containing the Διομήδεος ἀριστείη. See on this II. 116. 3, note.

[5] The other arguments for Paley's theory based on the allusions to Homer in early writers do not appear to be more conclusive. Thucydides 'alludes

(β) The argument based on 'the comparatively modern style of the diction' has been laboriously worked out. About fifty examples are given of 'characteristic words' common to Homer and Herodotus, and a long list is appended of 'more recent Ionic and Attic words[1], belonging to the later recensions and remodellings of the Homeric poems, and probably not earlier than B.C. 450.' Yet the instances, when examined, do not seem strong enough to sustain the argument based upon them. Many of the correspondences of 'characteristic words' are of such a trifling character that it is unnecessary to suppose in these cases either that the Homeric text has borrowed from the diction of the time of Herodotus, or that Herodotus has imitated Homer[2]. It is difficult again to see how the 'late character' of many of the forms common to the two texts can be considered to be proved. It cannot be maintained that

to the story of Charybdis in the *Odyssey*, to the return of Amphilochus and the storm which overtook the Grecian fleet on their return, a theme of the Νόστοι, and to the oaths of the suitors. He also quotes a verse from the second book of the *Iliad* as we now have it,' though he 'assigns to Homer some verses which are now read in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo.' 'Pindar refers to persons and subjects in the Troica not less than sixty times: only four or five of these touch upon scenes in our *Iliad*.' This surely only proves that other poems existed at the time side by side with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,—not that these latter were different from what they are now. And the same remark applies to the fact that 'out of fifty-eight lost dramas about Troy not more than three or four contain subjects even touched upon in our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.'

[1] The following are some of the 'more recent' forms and expressions which Paley specifies:—the frequent use of substantives in -οσύνη and -ὺς, of adjectives in -ήμων, of genitives in -εω, of reduplicated forms of perfect (ἀραιρημένος), of future verbs in -έω (σημανέω), of the third person plural of verbs in -αται (τετάχαται), of contractions of verbs in -άω into -εον (ὁρέοντες), of many verbs in -ίζειν and -άζειν, and of the middle voice used transitively.

[2] E.g. οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον and οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην, ἐπιφράσσετ' ὄλεθρον and ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε, κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες and ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, νεφέλῃ εἰλυμένος ὤμους and οὖρος ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον, Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι and ὅπλα ἀρήϊα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι. A list constructed on these principles might be largely increased.

because Herodotus uses certain expressions, these are therefore to be pronounced as necessarily originating in his time. However rapid the changes and modifications of structure which we may attribute to the Greek language of that time, the diction and dialect of Herodotus must still have been in most substantial points identical with what had been in use in Ionia for generations and even centuries back. Nor can we flatter ourselves that we are as yet so well acquainted with the laws of the growth and structure of the Greek language, as to be able with any certainty to determine the relative antiquity of different words *from a mere examination of their form*[1]. Assertions based on arguments of this kind require to be received with the greatest caution, since, owing to the scantiness of the fragments of early Greek literature which we possess, all *a posteriori* verification is impossible.

We cannot therefore suppose that the correspondences of the Homeric and Herodotean texts are to be explained by the assumption of a definite reconstruction of Homer in the time of Herodotus[2]. On the other hand, that some of the corre-

[1] Why for instance should the termination -οσύνη be pronounced to be late? That the word τοξοσύνη is later than the word τόξον is probable. But no reason can be given why τοξοσύνη should not have been used in the 8th century B. C., except that we know it to have been also used in the 5th. Surely the mere fact that the original significance of the termination has disappeared—that we are unable to see why its addition should modify the meaning of the root in the way which it does—is a proof of its antiquity. Words of late coinage explain their own meaning. This remark will apply to many other examples in Paley's list.

[2] The preceding remarks do not profess to be a complete answer to Paley's hypothesis. Yet many of his remaining arguments (e. g. those based on the dramatic nature and the morality of our present poems) amount to very little. And others (those numbered 14 and 15) seem to exclude one another. If instances of anticipation in the narration (i. e. of design and system) are a proof of the truth of the theory, instances of repetition and irregularity (i. e. of want of system) can hardly be cited as a proof also. And the supposed allusions to Hdt. in our present Homeric text are very vague. Speaking generally, Paley may be said to have proved that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of the earlier writers did not hold that

spondences are the result of modifications of the earlier Homeric forms is extremely probable. We cannot put altogether on one side the influence exercised by rhapsodists and correctors on the Homeric text. Side by side with the modifications which the Greek language underwent, there must have been introduced modifications in the text of the poems, in order to make them sufficiently intelligible to the people to whom they were recited. Had it been an English custom to recite 'The Canterbury Tales' at village fairs during the 15th and 16th centuries, there can be no doubt that the text of Chaucer would have become more or less different from the form in which we now possess it. Which of the existing correspondences are to be referred to this cause we cannot now determine. But that the modification of Homeric forms is a *vera causa* there can be but little doubt.

(iv) One other cause remains which may be assigned for some of the correspondences between the Homeric and Herodotean texts, viz. that some forms and expressions were borrowed by Herodotus from the epic poets. There seems to be no adequate reason for doubting that the writings of Herodotus shew traces of a deep and prolonged study of the Homeric poems, which has reproduced itself in his diction and dialect[1]. As in his treatment of his theme, so in his choice of

preeminence in Epic poetry which they have acquired since. He has also shewn it to be possible that some of the forms and expressions in our present Homeric text may be more recent than has usually been thought to be the case. He has failed to prove that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of the earlier writers were substantially different from our own, and he has attempted too much in trying to determine which of the Homeric forms and expressions are of more recent date.

[1] To those who hold the 'improbable' opinion that Hdt. 'purposely' borrowed from the Homeric vocabulary, Paley replies, 'that a large part of the words used in common are essentially *prose* words (as ἀλλοφρονεῖν, ἀνηκουστεῖν, παραβάλλεσθαι, ἀελπτεῖν, ἀτέοντες), and therefore more likely to have come into our Homeric texts from Hdt., than the converse.' But (1) there is no reason to suppose that Hdt. 'purposely' borrowed. There may have been no conscious imitation at all. A writer saturated with Homeric phraseology would naturally and even unintentionally reproduce

language and dialectical forms Herodotus may with justice be entitled μόνος Ὁμηρικώτατος.

(2) The occurrence of Atticisms in the text of Herodotus does not raise such a difficult question as the point which has just been discussed. Of the instances which are to be found (either actually read in the text or occurring among the various readings) on almost every page of the work a very considerable proportion no doubt is to be ascribed to the ignorance of copyists or the perverted ingenuity of grammarians. That such corruptions existed and that such emendations were attempted in ancient times, we learn from the statement of Porphyrius quoted on p. lvi. And modern critics are to be found who would have us correct over again the supposed corrections of their Alexandrian predecessors, and reconstruct the text in accordance with a preconceived Ionic standard. A view, such as that maintained by Dindorf[1], assumes that a corruption of the text is the only possible cause which can explain the occurrence of an Attic form. Yet the close relationship which we know to have existed between the old Attic[2] and the Ionic

it. (2) Surely this reply forgets that in the early ages of composition the distinction between prosaic and poetical diction—always rather an arbitrary one—hardly exists at all. Early prose is but little removed in diction from the poetry out of which it springs. How do we know that these were prose words then? It would be better to say that in both writers they were poetical.

[1] In the work mentioned on p. lii.

[2] Hermogenes (*de Thucyd. Histor. judicium*, 23) speaks of τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα, μικράς τινας ἔχουσαν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν Ἰάδα. The following are some of the points in which the Attic of Thucydides agrees with the Ionic of Herodotus and differs from the Attic of later writers:—a fondness for the collocations ρσ, e. g. ἄρσην (ἔρσην), θαρσέω (ἄρρην and θαρρεῖν in Plato)—and σσ, e. g. τάσσω and the like (τάττω in Plato)—the use of ἐς and αἰεὶ (Marcellinus says that Thucydides ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρῆται τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἀτθίδι, ὅταν τὴν δίφθογγον τὴν αι ἀντὶ τοῦ α γράφῃ, 'αἰεὶ' λέγων. The tragedians have these forms as well as εἰς and ἀεὶ)—the use of κλῇσαι (Hdt. κληῗσαι—Photius says κλῇσαι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λέγουσιν· οὕτω καὶ οἱ τραγικοὶ καὶ Θουκυδίδης)—the use of the Ionic genitive in some proper names (e. g. Ἀφύτιος, 1. 64. 3)—a carelessness occasionally about *hiatus* (e. g. μέχρι, ἄχρι, οὕτω before

dialects renders the use of Atticisms by Herodotus much less strange than it would otherwise have been. The Attic of Aeschylus and Thucydides is equally with the Ionic of Herodotus descended from that earlier Ionic dialect, which has been preserved to us in the Iambics of Archilochus and the elder Simonides; and it is quite conceivable that some of the so-called Atticisms in the prose of Herodotus may be forms which the two later dialects have derived in common from the earlier one. At any rate, if we are prepared to accept the statement of Hermogenes, already quoted, that the Herodotean dialect was *ποικίλη*, the affinity between the old Attic and Ionic, and the residence of Herodotus at Athens, are causes quite sufficient to account for the admixture of Attic (as well as of Epic) forms in his original text.

(3) The number of Doric forms employed by Herodotus is very small. There seems in fact to be some reason for thinking that one result of the exclusion of Halicarnassus from the Dorian Hexapolis[1] was the gradual decay of the Doric dialect of the original settlers, and the adoption of one or other of the local varieties of Ionic[2]. However this may be, with the

a vowel, *μετὰ Εὐβοίας*, *ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν* and the like)—and the use of some uncontracted forms (e.g. *βορέας*, *εὐνόων*, *τριακονταέτης*, *προέγραψα* and the like). See Poppo's Thucydides, Prolegom. I. 207, foll., from which the above instances are taken. In earlier times the resemblance between the two dialects was clearly much more strongly marked. Thus in a law of Solon quoted by Lysias (*κατὰ Θεομν.* p. 118, Bekk.), where the archaic diction is retained, we have some pure Ionic forms: *ὅσαι δὲ πεφασμένως πολοῦνται* (al. *πωλοῦνται*), *καὶ οἰκῆος* [*καὶ*] *βλάβης τὴν δούλην* (Telfy conj. *τὴν διπλῆν*) *εἶναι ὀφείλειν*. Lysias adds, by way of commentary, *τὸ μὲν πεφασμένως ἐστὶ φανερῶς, πολεῖσθαι δὲ βαδίζειν, τὸ δὲ οἰκῆος θεράποντος*. Schäfer thinks that instances occur of the retention of the Ionic *diaeresis* (*δέεται* for *δεῖται*) even in Aristophanes and Xenophon, but the examples cited are so few that it is rather difficult to believe in the genuineness of the readings. See Schäfer's edition of Gregorius Corinthius, (*Lips.* 1811) p. 431.

[1] See I. 144.

[2] This is maintained by Stein, who refers in support of his view to a Halicarnassian inscription (discovered by Newton and assigned with con-

exception of such Doric forms as are common to Ionic also[1], and of the retention (or substitution) of ᾱ for η (and εω) in several proper names[2], hardly one indubitable Doricism is to be found throughout the Histories. If we are to suppose that Herodotus had spoken Doric in his early years, the completeness with which he has freed himself from provincialisms as regards the *form* of his composition affords an additional confirmation of his superiority to local prejudices and national partialities in the *matter* of his narrative.

The composite structure of the Herodotean dialect (resulting from the admixture of these Epic, Attic, and Doric forms), which has now been illustrated, leads us naturally to the conclusion that it was something *sui generis*. Attempts have indeed been made to refer it to one or other of the four sub-dialects, which Herodotus himself describes as in use among the Asiatic Ionians of his time[3]. Thus Suidas, who tells us that Herodotus removed from Halicarnassus to Samos, seems to draw the inference that he wrote in the Samian dialect[4], and more recent authorities[5], on the strength of his supposed indebtedness to Hecataeus, have assumed that his dialect corresponded to the Carian (or Milesian) variety. But the evidence attain-

siderable probability to the middle of the 5th century B. C.), in which the prevailing dialect is Ionic, though the form Ἀλικαρνατ[τεω]ν occurs once. Still the evidence seems to be hardly conclusive.

[1] E. g. the contraction of εο into ευ, examples of which are occasionally to be found in Doric. The form σεῦ is used by Pindar, ὀρεῦντι and ἠγάπευν by Theocritus.

[2] E.g. Γυγάδας (I. 14. 7), τιάρας (132. 2);—Θήρας, Θεασίδης, Ἆγις (also Ἦγις) names of Spartans,—Ἀριστέας, Ἀμίλκας (dat. Ἀμίλκᾳ), Σίκας (gen. Σίκα). Stein, who has collected these and other examples, notices that in many of these instances the practice of Herodotus is in harmony with that of Attic writers. We also find γαμόροι (for γεωμόροι) VII. 155. 2; Νικόλας (for Νικόλεως) 137. 3; Λακρίνης (for Λεωκρίνης) I. 152. 4; Λευτυχίδης (for Λεωτυχίδης) VI. 55. 1.

[3] I. 142.

[4] ἐν οὖν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα ἠσκήθη διάλεκτον.

[5] E. g. Jäger, *Disput. Herod.* p. 7; Kenrick, *Introduction to the Egypt of Herodotus*, p. LXII.

able does not bear out either of these theories[1], and the *a priori* improbability of the adoption by Herodotus of a *purely provincial* dialect in all its *minutiae* is very great. It is safer to suppose that the dialect of the earlier λογογράφοι (which forms without doubt the basis of Herodotus' language[2]), though originally perhaps identical with the Milesian, had become in time, through the modifications of successive writers, an artificial compound, and that thus a *literary* dialect had been produced, distinct from any of the spoken varieties of Ionic, and employed more or less by all the prose-writers of the age without much regard to their place of abode or birth.

Whether the nature of this literary dialect—the pure Ionic groundwork, which Herodotus has overlaid with Epic and Attic ornamentation—can with any degree of accuracy be ascertained, is a question on which opinions are divided. It has been already stated that little or no help towards the solution of this problem can be hoped for from the extant works or fragments of contemporary Ionic writers[3]. But recent critics have attempted a solution from a minute study of the Herodotean text itself. This mode of investigation, commenced by Struve[4], and carried on by Dindorf[5], has been very

[1] Bähr (Vol. IV. p. 459) gives an example or two of Samian forms, which are different from those employed by Herodotus. The apparently exaggerated language which Herodotus uses when mentioning the divergences of the four sub-dialects (ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδὲν, I. 142. 6), and the sarcastic or hostile tone which he often adopts, when naming or referring to Hecataeus (e.g. II. 21; 45. 1; 143. 1; IV. 36. 2), are very much against the view that he selected for special imitation the diction or dialect of Hecataeus.

[2] 'Recens Ias fundamentum Herodoteae dictionis.' Bredow.

[3] See p. xlii.

[4] *Quaest. de dial. Herod. Specimina* I. II. III. 1828. Struve only worked out three points, the use of ὅστις and ὅς, the declension of nouns in -ευς, and the orthography of θῶυμα, τὠυτό, etc. An example of his method of investigation has been given on p. xliii.

[5] *Praefat. ad Herodotum, ed. Didot.* 1844. Dindorf is much more arbitrary and inconsistent than Bredow in his determination of the right Ionic forms.

greatly developed by Bredow[1], whose conclusions have been almost unhesitatingly adopted by some of the more recent German editors[2]. A short account and criticism of his method may here be given.

Bredow's fundamental axiom—the assumption of which alone renders the adoption of the method possible—is that Herodotus never used two forms of the same word[3]. While allowing that in some cases Herodotus used Attic, and in other Epic forms, he refuses to admit that the 'variety' in Herodotus, to which ancient critics refer—what is called by Dionysius of Halicarnassus ἡ τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποικιλία—can possibly imply that he used Epic, Attic, and Ionic forms of the same word indiscriminately. This principle laid down, the method proceeds by a collection and enumeration of all the instances in which any particular word or class of words—of doubtful form—occurs throughout the work. The preponderance of MS. authority is noticed in each case, so that at last a balance can be struck, and the right form ascertained by a sort of arithmetical process. The form thus established may, according to Bredow, be safely restored even in passages where the MSS. are unanimous against it[4].

[1] *Quaestionum criticarum de dialecto Herod. Libri quatuor.* 1846.

[2] Notably by Stein. Bähr, while altering in accordance with Bredow's views many forms in his 2nd edition (on which the text of the present edition is based), retains his independence of judgment. Thus (to take a few out of a very large number of examples) he reads ὁρμεώμενοι (not ὁρμεόμενοι) and the double forms ἔπειτα, ἔπειτεν—θέλω, ἐθέλω—τρέπω, τράπω etc.

[3] 'Quum minime nobis statuere liceat Herodotum idem vocabulum vocabulorumque genus modo hac modo illa forma usurpasse,' p. 87.

[4] An example of the application of the method will supply the place of a longer description. Thus the question is raised (p. 104), whether τοιοῦτο or τοιοῦτον is the 'right' Herodotean form. We find that in seven passages all the MSS. have τοιοῦτο, and in 25 passages the better (or the majority of) MSS. and the 'more intelligent' editors read τοιοῦτο. On the other hand, in nine places all the MSS. have τοιοῦτον. Now we know that Attic writers used τοιοῦτον (as also ταὐτὸν and τοσοῦτον), and we know that Hdt. used τὠυτὸ (not τὠυτὸν), the MSS. being on this point almost

Bredow's method—adopted in its entirety—seems unsatisfactory for the following reasons:—

(1) No evidence whatever is adduced for the assumption of the invariability of Herodotean forms. Bredow says that the fluctuation of Homeric forms is to be explained by the exigencies of metre,—an explanation which cannot (he adds) be applied to the case of a prose-writer like Herodotus. Yet it is probable that in Greek prose, and especially in early Greek prose, recognized laws of rhythm existed, however difficult it may be for us to detect them at the present day[1]. And apart from any considerations of euphony, sufficient reasons may be found for variety of usage, in the length of time during which Herodotus was probably engaged on his work, in the cosmopolitan freedom from any one special dialect which his extended travels probably gave him, and in the fact that an unprinted literature allows much latitude in questions of orthography.

(2) The positive evidence (derived from the MSS.) for an absence of uniformity has some weight, though perhaps not much. Bredow points out at great length the worthlessness of the existing MSS.: yet he practically treats a majority of the MSS. as infallible.

everywhere unanimous. Hence we are justified in concluding that *τοιοῦτο* is everywhere the true reading, more especially because the very MSS. which have *τοιοῦτον* in some places have *τοιοῦτο* in others. The foregoing is a favourable example of the method, since the voice of the MSS. is tolerably decided, and the analogy of *τὠυτὸ* is certainly a strong one. Yet even here the question suggests itself:—Why should not Hdt. have used both forms?

[1] Mure thinks it 'certain that, even in prose composition, the delicate ear of the Hellenes was susceptible to the nicer modifications of metrical cadence.' Bähr quotes Meierotto (*sur Herodote*, Memoire de l'Academie royale de Berlin, 1792, p. 596): 'peut-on conclure qu'il suite ici une règle générale, l'usage reçu, sa langue, son dialecte, ou plutôt *ne faudra-t-il pas dire qu'il consulte son oreille et la suite?*' So Quintilian says, 'in Herodoto cum omnia, ut ego quidem sentio, leniter fluunt, tum ipsa *διάλεκτος* habet eam jucunditatem, ut *latentes etiam numeros* complexa videatur.' *Inst. Orat.* IX. 4. 18.

(3) In some cases the MS. authority is so evenly balanced that Bredow is obliged, inconsistently with his original premiss, to allow the possibility of alternative forms. Bähr fairly pushes this admission to its logical conclusion. If Herodotus may be supposed to have written πλέειν as well as πλώειν, εἰπεῖν as well as εἶπαι, and so on, why are we to deny the possibility of other alternative forms, where the verdict of the MSS. is rather more pronounced?

There are many instances, however, in which Bredow's corrections are almost certain, and their number will no doubt be increased by fresh collations of the MSS.[1], minute accuracy of collation being absolutely necessary for the employment of the method. The foregoing remarks are only intended to deprecate an exaggerated idea of the value of his mode of investigation and an unqualified acceptance of its results.

After all we must be content to leave in uncertainty many questions connected with the dialect of Herodotus. That we possess his writings, as he left them, in most material points, seems certain. When compared with the doubts which exist about many of the Platonic dialogues and Aristotelian treatises, the difficulties of dialect and orthography, which beset the text of Herodotus, sink into comparative unimportance.

[1] See e. g. *Quaest. de dialecto Herod. specimen* I. Gotting. 1859, by Abicht, who clears up some points about the use of contracted and uncontracted forms of verbs in -έω, which had been left unnoticed by Bredow.

ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

AT least thirty MSS. of Herodotus are known to be in existence, though not all of them have been collated, and some only contain portions of the work. Unfortunately with this material there is no hope of its ever being possible to restore the original text in its verbal integrity. All the evidence attainable tends to depreciate the value of the existing MSS. (1) We find that words, which occur in quotations from Herodotus made by the Greek grammarians, are not read in any of the existing MSS.[1] (2) We know that Aristotle had the reading Θουρίου (instead of Ἁλικαρνησσέος) in the opening words of Book I. No trace of this variation of reading is now to be found in the MSS. (3) We find instances of undoubted corruptions of the text common to all the existing MSS.[2] (4) We are unable to discover the existence of any law among the MSS. with regard to the use of the different dialectical forms. Two MSS. which agree about a form in one passage will differ in another. The same MSS. will employ different forms of the same word within the space of a few lines. It may safely be pronounced impossible to restore with certainty the original dialect of Herodotus from a study of the existing MSS. (5) We learn from Porphyrius[3] (born about 230 A.D.) that

[1] See e.g. notes on II. 133. 4; 158. 5.

[2] Bähr quotes amongst others *ἀρώμενοι*, I. 27; *διεπρήστευσε*, IV. 79; *ἐσταλάδατο*, VII. 89; *ἐγκεχρημένοι*, VII. 145. Opinions may differ about some of these particular examples, but that instances are to be found is certain:—e.g. Bekker's correction *πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι* (at II. 39. 1) is certain. Yet all the existing MSS. appear to read *πυρὴν καίουσι.*

[3] *Quaest. Hom.* ch. 8: *ἐν τοῖς Φιλήμονος συμμίκτοις περὶ Ἡροδοτείου διορ-*

corruptions were believed by the Alexandrian grammarians to exist in the text of their day. We do not know whether we possess any of their emendations, but it is only natural that the corruptions should have largely increased in the period between their age and the tenth century A.D., the date of our oldest existing MSS. (6) All the existing MSS. are *cursives*[1]. They are thus liable to all the additional errors which inevitably result from the transcription of cursives from uncials by careless or ignorant copyists[2].

It has been maintained that there are traces in our existing copies of two *original* (or at any rate *very early*) recensions (διασκευαί) of the work. It has also been maintained that all our existing copies belong to one family of MSS. merely, and that one or more other families have been altogether lost. Both views are tenable, but neither can be said to be proved. If we examine the readings of the existing MSS., as they are, without attempting to determine their ultimate source, two classes of MSS. may be readily distinguished, though there will still remain copies which cannot be assigned to either of these groups[3].

θώματος ὁ γραμματικὸς διαλεγόμενος πειρᾶται καὶ Ὁμηρικά τινα σαφηνίζειν. *Ib.* τοῦτο δὴ θεραπεύων τις οὐχ Ἡροδότου φησὶν ἁμάρτημα γεγονέναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν γραφέα φησὶ διαμαρτεῖν παρεμβαλόντα τὸ ἰῶτα. πολλὰ δὲ φέρεσθαι μεχρὶ νῦν ἁμαρτήματα κατὰ τὴν Ἡροδότου συγγραφήν. For a detailed account of the probable corruptions, *lacunae*, interpolations, glosses, and dialectical fluctuations of the existing MSS., see Bredow: *De dialecto Herodotea* pp. 11—86. 'Could the young Thucydides,' he adds, 'hear Herodotus recited now from our present texts he would weep indeed, but tears of sorrow and not of joy.'

[1] The characters of the Medicean are said sometimes to approximate to the uncial form.

[2] Uncials seldom have any accents, breathings, or stops. This fact must be borne in mind in using the appended table of readings. The variations at I. 7. 4; 116. 5; II. 31. 2; 32. 4; 174. 2 are interesting from this point of view.

[3] The following account is mainly taken from Abicht's monograph: *De codicum Herodoti fide atque auctoritate*. Berolini (1869?). See also *Philologus*, Vol. XII. pp. 204, 207.

1. The more trustworthy of the two classes comprises the following:—

M. *Codex Mediceus.* At Florence in the Laurentian library, first collated by J. Gronovius (1675), and since by Abicht and Stein—without doubt the most valuable of the existing MSS. It is written on parchment, without any abbreviations, and in an exceedingly clear hand. In its use of the *iota ascript*, and in its omission of all punctuation or separation of words, it approximates to the uncial type. Assigned to the 10th century.

F. *Florentinus* s. *Shellershemianus.* Also at Florence. Discovered by the Baron von Schellersheim, and first collated by Schweighäuser about the beginning of the present century; since by Stein. Abicht pronounces it to be from the same (not as Schw. thought from an earlier) source as the Medicean. Written on parchment (rather carelessly in parts)[1]. Probably of the 10th century.

P. *Angelicanus* s. *Cardinalis Passionei.* At Rome (*S. Agostino*). First collated by Wesseling about the middle of the last century; since by Stein. Written on parchment, with the heading ἡροδότου ἱστορίη, ἡ ἱστορία αὐτοῦ διὰ μουσῶν. About the 12th century.

K. *Askevianus* s. *Askewii.* In the public library at Cambridge. Collated by Wesseling. It does not contain the first 78 chapters of Book I., and begins with the words μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀφ' ἵππων (I. 79. 4). Written on silky paper 'in the small cursive hand of the 15th century[2].'

N. Besides the above, Abicht includes in this class four other Florentine MSS. One of these has been collated for the first time by Stein[3]. Its readings appear in a majority of cases to agree with those of the before-mentioned MSS. Abicht, who looked at the readings of all four in one or two test passages, pronounces their collation to be useless.

2. The second class of MSS.—which Abicht[4] pronounces to be very inferior in value—includes the following:—

S. *Sancroftianus.* Formerly the property of Archbishop Sancroft, and now in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Quoted by Wess. under the title *Arch.*; afterwards collated by Gaisford. Of the 13th century.

[1] e.g. it reads ἀφεὶς for ἀφθείς, I. 19. 2; ψυχῆς for τύχης, 118. 3; δικαιώτατον for ἀδικώτατον, 129. 4; ἄριστα for ἀχάριτα, 207. 2.

[2] Wess. however calls it 'codex annorum ferme quingentorum.'

[3] He quotes no readings from it in Books VIII. and IX.

[4] Stein attaches more importance than Abicht to the readings of this class.

V. *Vindobonensis.* In the Imperial library at Vienna. Collated by Wesseling. Probably of the 14th century. 'Later than the latest Florentine MS.' Abicht.

The agreement of these two MSS. and their divergences from those of the former class are very striking. (1) There are several passages in which they have undoubtedly preserved the true reading, while the others are hopelessly corrupt [1]. (2) In an enormous number of instances (Abicht says 600) they exhibit faulty cases, numbers, genders, tenses, moods, &c. while the others are correct. (3) They omit nine passages in Book I, and one in Book VIII, which are found in all the MSS. of the former class [2]. These omissions (often extending over several chapters) are sometimes replaced by a short summary, and in all cases the passages are skilfully pieced together.

T. Abicht also includes in this class six Vatican MSS., one of which has been collated for the first time by Stein [3]. According to Abicht the agreement of this MS. with S. and V. is so complete, that the collation has been useless. But this statement is hardly borne out by the readings given in Stein's tables. The other Vatican MSS. are said by Abicht to belong to the same family.

Rom. *Romanus* s. *Mureti.* In the Jesuit College at Rome, inscribed *ex bibliotheca Mureti.* Discovered in 1868, and Book I. collated. It contains nearly the same *lacunae* as S. and V.; also the same fragments of I. 137—177, and many of the same corruptions. Written on parchment, and probably of the 12th century.

Vall. The MS. from which Valla made his Latin translation (1474). This is not now to be found, but to judge from the *lacunae* in Valla's translation, it must have belonged to the same family as S. and V.

3. There remain several MSS. which sometimes favour the readings of one class and sometimes of the other, or which for

[1] e.g. at II. 79. 2 M.F.P.K. have *ἄλλα τε ἅπαξ ἅ ἐστι*, S.V. *ἄλλα τε ἐπάξιά ἐστι*, at II. 19. 3 M.P.K. have *πέλας*, S.V.F. *πελάσας*.

[2] The passages are I. 46—52; 56—68; 77—79; 92, 3; 96—100 (summarised); 131—5; 138—178; 181—184; 186; 199; VIII. 77—84. Only the more important of these omissions are noticed in the appended table. It will be seen that in the majority of cases the passages omitted are *episodes*.

[3] He quotes no readings from Book V.

other reasons cannot be assigned to either class. Of these the most important is

A. or a. *Parisinus.* Collated by Gorgiades for Schweighäuser, and since by Stein. Probably of the 12th century. In the first book it almost always agrees with M.F.P.K., but more rarely in the second, and the remaining books exhibit very many of the corrupt readings of S. and V. This MS. is quoted by Wess. under the title C.

There are five other Paris MSS. (B. C. D. E. F., or b. c. d. e. f.) of no special note—the last two mere fragments.

The remaining MSS. are—

G. *Ambrosianus*, of which Stein has collated Books I. and II.

U. *Urbinas*, of which he has collated Book V.

Ven. *Venetus*, the readings of which for the first 32 chapters of Book I. appear in Wesseling's edition. Bähr classes it with the Vienna MS.

R. *Monasterii S. Remigii.* Collated by Wess. It only contains Books I, II, and III. down to ch. 70, and agrees on the whole rather more with M.F.P.K. than with S.

Eton. An Eton MS. collated to some extent by Gale. A few readings are quoted in Gaisford's edition. Of little value according to Abicht.

Br. A paper MS. in the Harleian collection of the British Museum, containing the first 91 chapters of Book I.; collated by Long.

The Bodleian Library at Oxford contains three MSS.

(1). No. 114 (*Cod. Barocc.*). On paper, of the 15th century, containing only fragments of Book I.

(2). No. 200 (*Cod. Barocc.*). Written on paper in a very clear hand, and dated 1515. It begins with *ἀλλὰ θεῶν κου τις* (I. 45. 3), and ends with *κατάστασις τοιῇδε* (V. 92. 5).

(3). No. 102 (*Cod. Miscell.*). On paper. About the end of the 15th century.

None of these have apparently been collated. The present editor, after an inspection of (2) and (3), has no hesitation in assigning (3) to the same family as S. and V. Out of a considerable number of test passages examined, its readings in only one instance differed from S[1]. It also appears to have almost exactly the same omissions and substituted summaries in Book I. The readings of (2) corresponded with those of b. and d. in a majority of the passages examined. It has apparently the

[1] At I. 24. 13 it reads *οὐ μέγα*, where S. omits *οὐ*.

same omissions and summaries, and differs notably from S. in the retention of I. 56—68. Where the readings of b. and d. varied, it almost invariably followed d.[1]

One other MS. is sometimes mentioned, the *Codex Palatinus* (described by Kreuzer, *Meletemata*, Part I. p. 98). It contains extracts (as a rule, quite short) from various authors, and amongst others from Herodotus. Abicht pronounces it to be valueless.

TABLE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT VARIATIONS OF READING IN BOOKS I. AND II.

The readings before the brackets are those of Bähr's second edition (1856—61).

Where the present edition departs from Bähr's text, an asterisk is prefixed.

The readings of the MSS. are given on the authority of Gaisford—who put together the results of Wesseling's and Schweighäuser's collations, and collated S. afresh—and of Stein—who has collated M.F.P.A. afresh, and N.T.G. for the first time. Where no authority is stated for the reading of the text, it is meant that this is also the reading of the MSS., or of a considerable majority of them. The names attached to the corrections are in each case those of the *first* proposers of the emendation, so far as they can be ascertained.

This table does not include any variations of reading, the adoption of which turns wholly on questions of orthography or dialect. Many other variations, which do not illustrate any rule of syntax, and do not materially affect the sense of the passage in which they occur, have also been omitted for the sake of brevity. Nor has it been thought necessary, as a rule, to insert corrections which are pronounced unnecessary in the commentary, or which would have been so pronounced, had they been mentioned there.

Book I.

Ch.	§	
1	2	*τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι] e. The rest insert χώρῃ.
2	1	Φοίνικες] Ven. Others Ἕλληνες.
	4	τὸν Κόλχον] S.V. The rest vary between τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα and τῶν Κόλχων βασιλέα.
3	1	οὔτε] οὐδὲ Schäfer.

[1] At II. 10. 3, however, it reads ἑπταστόμου with b., where d. reads πενταστόμου.

Ch.	§	
7	4	*ἀπ' ὅτευ*] a. Others *ἀπό τευ*. *ἀπὸ τοῦ* Matthiä.
9	2	*πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον*] F.R. a.c. *πειρώμενον λόγον* (omitting *λέγω*) P.S.
12	3	*τοῦ καὶ—ἐπεμνήσθη*] Placed in brackets by Schäfer. Ven. omits *Πάριος—ἐπεμνήσθη*.
16	1	*Σαδυάττης*] *Σαρδυάττης* Br.
18	2	*Σαδυάττης γὰρ οὗτος*] N. *Σαδυάττης οὗτος γάρ* M.F.G.T.
24	12	*ἔτι*] *ὅτι* Br. ('cf. *ὅντινα ἐπαιτιᾶσθαι*, II. 121. 12' Long).
	13	*οὐ μέγα*] *οὐ* omitted by F.S.V.R.a.c.
27	4	*ἀρώμενοι*] M.F.S.V.a.b.d.e. Ven. Br. *ἀρᾶσθαι* R.a.c.S.marg. *ἀειράμενοι* Schw. *ἀρᾶσθαι* Schäfer (omitting *εὔχεσθαι*). *ἀράμενοι* Reiske. *αἰωρευμένους* Toup. *αἰωρεύμενοι* Werfer.
30	4	*εἵνεκεν*] Placed in brackets by Stein.
32	10	*ἄπηρος*] Two Vat. MSS. *ἄπορος* d. The rest *ἄπειρος*.
33		*ἀμαθέα*] *ἀμαθής* S. Vall.
41	3	*πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ*] *πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο* F.S.a.c.
42	1	*ἂν ἴσχον*] P.S.R. *ἂν ἔσχον* d. Br. The rest *ἄνισχον*.
45	3	*μέν νυν*] *μέν νιν* S., which also inserts *θάψαι* after *ἦν*, and omits most of the rest of the chapter.
46	1	*καταλαβεῖν*] M.S. and the majority of MSS. Others *καταβαλεῖν*.
	2	*τῶν τε ἐν Ἕλλησι*] *τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι* (*Δελφίσι*) S.V., which omit from *Λιβύῃ* to the end of ch. 52 (see 53. 1).
49		*καὶ τοῦτο*] *καὶ τοῦτον* F.a.b.c.d.
50	3	*τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον*] Schw. *Duo talenta cum dimidio* Vall. The MSS. have *τρία ἡμιτάλαντα*.
53	1	*τοῖσι δὲ*] V. and S. have *τοῖσι δὲ πεμπομένοισι κήρυξι μετὰ δώρων τοιαῦτα ἐνετέλλετο ἐρωτᾶν, εἰ*.
56	3	—— end of ch. 68] Omitted by S.V. (see 69. 1).
58	3	*πρὸς δὴ ὦν*] *ὡς δὴ ὦν* e.
63	4.	**ἕκαστον*] Schäfer. *ἕκαστον* a. (with *σ* written above the termination of the word.) The rest *ἕκαστος*.
68	7	*πειρῴατο*] Gaisford. *ἐπιπειρῴατο* Schw. *ἐπειρέοντο* Stein. The MSS. have *ἐπειρώατο*, except c., which has *ἐπειρέατο*.
69	1	S. connects as follows with 56. 2: *καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους ἵα τε φέροντας δῶρά τε φέροντας κ.τ.λ.*
73	4	*ὀργὴν ἄκρος*] b.d.e. Others *ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος*.
	5	*ἐβουλεύσαντο*] The majority of MSS. have *ἐβούλευσαν*.
84	5	*οὗτος*] Reiske. The MSS. have *αὐτὸς*.
86	3	*ἡσυχίης*] M.F.K.R.a.c. *λειποψυχίης* V.S. b.d.e. F.marg.
	7	**κελεύειν*] H. Stephens. The MSS. have *κελεύει*.
90	5	*τούτων*] b. *τούτῳ* F.P.K.S.d. *τοῦτο* a.c.R.

Ch.	§	
91	5	*εἶπε τὰ εἶπε*] *τὰ εἶπε* omitted by S.V. The first *εἶπε* omitted by Valck.
93	1	*γῆ*] *γῆ ἡ* Schäfer. S.b.d. omit ch. 93 and the first sentence of ch. 94.
95	3	—— end of ch. 100] Omitted by S.V.b.d., which give a short summary instead.
105	5	*ἡ θεὸς*] Wesseling (from Longinus *περὶ ὕψ.*, ch. 27). Most MSS. have *ὁ θεός*.
106	1	*ἐπέβαλλον*] *ἐπέβαλον* F. *ἐπίβαλλον* K. Hermann.
107	3	*ὑπερθέμενος*] H. Stephens. The MSS. have *ὑποθέμενος*.
108	6	*σοὶ ἑωυτῷ*] *σοὶ ἑαυτῷ* M.a. *σοὶ αὐτῷ* c. *σὺ ἑωυτῷ* K.F.S. The rest *ἑωυτῷ*. *σεωυτῷ* Schäfer.
115	4	*ὅδε*] F.a.c. The rest *ὧδε*.
116	1	**ἐλευθεριωτέρη*] Portus. The MSS. have *ἐλευθερωτέρη*.
	5	*μουνωθέντα τάδε*] P.V. a.c.R. *μουνοθέντα δὲ, τάδε* b.d. *μουνωθὲνταδὲ* (*sic*) S. *μούνοθεν τάδε* M.K. *μουνόθεν τα* (*prima manu*) *τάδε* F.
125	1	*εὕρισκέ τε*] K. *εὕρισκε* S.b. The rest *εὑρίσκεται*.
129	3	**τὸ πρῆγμα δὴ ἑωυτοῦ*] S. *τὸ πρῆγμα ἑωυτοῦ δὴ* F. and probably M.
	5	*δεῖν*] S.a.b.d. *δέον* M.F.K.c.
131	3	—— 136. 1. incl.] Omitted by S.V.b.d., which however contain one or two fragments from the intervening chapters.
132	4	*πάντα τὰ*] Valck. The MSS. omit the article.
133	3	*οὐκ ἀλέσι*] So (or *οὐκαλέσι*) M.F.K. *οὐ καλοῖσι* c. *οὐκ ἄλεσι* (or perhaps *ἀλάσι*) Bekker.
134	4	*τὸν λεγόμενον*] Abresch. The MSS. have *τῷ λεγομένῳ*. *τῶν λεγομένων* Stein.
138	1	*χρέος*] From this to the end of ch. 177 omitted by S.V.b.d., with the exception of one or two short sentences.
	3	*πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι*] *πολλοὶ καὶ ἐλαύνουσι* F. *πάλιν ἐξελαύνουσι* Coray. *πολλῇ κραυγῇ ἐλαύνουσι* Steger. For other corrections see note on passage.
140	1	*ἑλκυσθῆναι*] M.F.K.a.c.R. The rest *ἑλκυσθῇ*.
146	3	*Ὀρχομένιοι*] Palmer. *Ὀρχομένιοί σφι* Herold. The MSS. have *Ὀρχομενίοισι*.
	4	*Ἀθηναίων*] *Ἀθηνέων* Schäfer.
163	3	*Μῆδον*] *Λυδὸν* Wesseling.
165	4	*ἀναφῆναι*] *ἀναφανῆναι* Reiske. *ἀναβῆναι* Herold. *ἀναπεφηνέναι* Krüger.
168	4	*ἐκτήσαντο*] *ἔκτισαν* Schw. *ἐκτίσαντο* Larcher.
169	2	*ταῦτα*] *ταὐτὰ* Reiske.

CH.	§	
170	4	*οὕτω*] *οὗτοι* Schäfer.
174	3	*Βυβασσίης*] Voss. The MSS. have *Βυβλεσίης*. 'A facile in Λ, Σ in E abiit.' Gaisford.
181	2	*ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλήϊα*][1] Gronovius. *ἐν τῷ εἶεν τὰ β.* F. The rest have *ἐν τῷ ᾖεν τὰ β.*
185	1	*ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε*] Bekker. The MSS. omit *ἀλλ'*.
	3	*ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην*] Abicht says that M. omits *ἐς*. Gaisford notices no variation.
188	1	*Λαβυνήτου*] Wesseling. *Λαβυρίτου* S. The rest *Λαβυνίτου*.
	2	*μούνου*] *μοῦνος* S.V.b.
189	2	*τοῦτο*] F. The rest *τούτῳ*.
191	7	*οὐδ' ἂν*] F.a.c. (probably also M.K.). *οὐκ ἂν* d. *οὐ μὰν* S.b. *οἱ δ' ἂν* Palmer.
193	1	*ὀλίγῳ*] *ὀλίγον* S.
	7	*ποιεῦντες*] *ποιεῦνται* S.
196	5	*ὡς γὰρ διεξέλθοι*] Bergler. The MSS. have *ὡς γὰρ δή οἱ ἐξέλθοι*.
	7	*οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι*] M. *ἂν ἄγεσθαι* F.P.K.a.c. *ἀγαγέσθαι* V. *ἀνάγεσθαι* S.b.d.
199	4	*ὁδῶν*] F.K.a.c. The rest *ὁδόν*.
204	1	*πεδίου τοῦ*] *πεδίου τούτου τοῦ* Stein.
206	2	*πάντα* S. *πάντων* b. The rest *πάντως*.
	3	*εἰ*] Two Parisian MSS. The rest *ἦν* (Bähr). Gaisford notices no variation from *εἰ*.
207	2	*ἐόντα* Schw. The MSS. have *τὰ ἐόντα*.
212	4	*εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα*] F.S.a.c.b.d. *εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ*. M.P.K.

BOOK II.

1	2	*ταύτης δὲ*] *ταύτης δὴ* F.M.G.
2	1	*Ψαμμήτιχον*] M.K.R. *Ψαμμίτιχον* F.a.b. *Ψαμμιτήχιτον* V.S.
	9	*πρεσβυτέρους*] *πρώτους* V.S. Eton. b.d.
3	1	*Ἡφαίστου ἐν*] *Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν* M.F.G.T.
9	2	*συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι*] M.F.G. Others *συντεθειμένοι στάδιοι*.
10	1	*ἐδόκεε δὲ*] *δὲ* omitted by M.K.
	2	*ὥστε*] M.F.K.a.b.c.R. *ὡς* N.S.T.
	3	*πενταστόμου*] M.K.a.c.d. *ἑπταστόμου* S.V.R.b. F. has both readings.
12	2	*καταρρηγνυμένην*] M.F.G. Others *κατερρηγνυμένην*.

[1] The reading in the text, *ἐν τῷ τὰ βασιλήϊα μὲν* (p. 157. l. 9), is a mistake, the result of a misprint in Bähr's edition.

CH.	§	
13	3	ἦν] F.S. The rest εἰ.
	4	*ἐπιδιδῷ...ἀποδιδῷ] Bredow. The MSS. ἐπιδιδοῖ...ἀποδιδοῖ.
15	1	τῇ δή] F.a. τῆι δὲ S. The rest τῇδε.
16	4	*τῆς Λιβύης] R. τῇ Λιβύῃ M.F.S.
17	5	ταύτῃ] F.S.a.b.c. ταύτην M.P.K.
19	5	τὰ λεγόμενα] P.S.V. τὰ λελεγμένα M.F.K.
22	2	[τόπων] ῥέων] τόπων omitted by S.V. and the Paris MSS. ῥέων omitted by F.P.K.
25	1	οὐκ ἐόντων ἀνέμων] S.b. καὶ ἀνέμων (without οὐκ ἐόντων) F.a.c.d., and apparently M.P.K.
26	1	αὐτῷ] M.K.F.a.c. Omitted by S. The rest αὐτοῦ.
28	2	ἀπηγμένα] Bredow. ἀπηγημένα S. The rest ἀπειγμένα.
30	4	ἄλλῃ] Bekker. ἄλλη δὲ the MSS.
31	2	τοσοῦτοι] Reiske. τοσούτῳ V.S. The rest οὗτοι.
32	4	ᾗ τελευταί] Wesseling. ᾗ τελευτᾷ τὰ Reiske. ἡ τελευταίη Schw. The older MSS. have ἡ τελευτᾶι, the rest ᾗ τελευτᾷ, except K., which has τελεύταί.
35	1	πλεῖστα] M.F.P.K. πλέω S.V.R.
39	1	πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι] Bekker. The MSS. have πυρὴν καίουσι[1].
	3	δὲ ἐκείνῃ] δὲ κείνῃ M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. δ' ἐκείνου S. δὲ κεινῇ Schw.
42	7	σφι] σφισι Stein.
45	3	ὑῶν] οἰῶ (*sic*) F. ὀΐων Valck.
48	2	χορῶν] M.F.P.K. χοίρων a.c.R. χαίρων S.V.
51	2	ἤδη] M.K.P.F.b.c. δὴ a.d. Omitted by S.V.
63	5	*ἀλεξόμενοι] ἀλεξομένους S.V.
64	5	γένεα] τέλεα S.d.
70	2	οἱ δὲ ἕλκουσι] Omitted by S.V.d.
71	2	ἀκόντια] Omitted by Schäfer.
75	2	ἀκανθέων] τῶν θεῶν M.F., but M. has ὀστέων in the margin.
77	7	τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθίων] S.V.R., and the Paris MSS. τὰ σμ. τῶν ὀρνίθων M.F.P.K.
79	2	ἔν ἐστι] Wesseling. The MSS. have ἔνεστι.
	3	ἔλαβον] Schw. The MSS. have ἔλαβον τὸ οὔνομα (or τοὔνομα).
81	3	καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι] Omitted by M.F.P.K.
85	1	οἰκητίων...οἰκητίων] S. οἰκητων...οἰκίων P.K. οἰκιέων...οἰκιέων F.
86	10	θηκαίῳ] θηβαίῳ F.K. ἐν οἰκήματι...νεκροὺς is omitted by S.V.d.
87	2	τοὺς κλυστῆρας] τοὺς omitted by S.N.T.
91	1	φεύγουσι...μηδαμά] omitted by S.V.
	2	αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸ S.V.d.

[1] πυρὴν καίουσι has been inadvertently retained in the text of the present edition.

Ch.	§	
94	2	Ἕλλησι] ἕλεσι S.
95	3	ὑπ' αὐτῷ] ὑπ' αὐτὸ F.S.V. ὑπ' αὐτὸν a.c.
97	4	οὐκ οὗτος] S.V. The rest have οὐδ' οὗτος. ἔστι δὲ οὐ τῇδε οὗτος Reiske. ἔστι δὲ οὗ οὐδ' οὕτως Coray.
99	3	τὴν Μέμφιν] S.V.R. καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν M.K.F.a.c.
	5	ὃς] ὡς M.F.K.S.V.T.G. Others ὅς.
100	1	*βίβλου] Bähr. βίβλων S. βύβλου F., the Paris MSS., and others. βύβλων Ald., Schäfer.
103	2	καὶ προσώτατα] F.P. The rest have καὶ οὐ προσώτατα.
105	3	Σαρδ.νικὸν] Σαρδωνικὸν F.S.a. Σαρδιηνικὸν Dietch. Σαρδικὸν Dindorf.
110	1	μὲν δὴ οὗτος] M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. δὲ δὴ οὗτος S. δὲ οὗτος δὴ N.T. Others δὴ οὗτος δή.
113	3	ὀτευῶν] Bekker. The MSS. have ὅτεῳ.
115	5	ἐκκλέψας] Omitted by S.b.d.
116	2	κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι] ἐν omitted by V. ἐποίησεν Ἰλιάδα S. For corrections see note on passage.
117	1	δηλοῖ] δῆλον Valck., who also places τὸ χωρίον in brackets.
119	3	ἐπὶ Λιβύης] ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Λιβύης Plutarch (*de Herod. mal.* 857 b). ἰθὺ Λιβύης Valck.
121	12	ἐπαιτιᾶται] ἀπαιτιᾶσθαι S.V. ἐπαιτιᾶσαι b.d. ἐπαιτιᾶσθαι Long (cf. 1. 24. 12).
	14	προσαπολέσῃ] M.F.T.a.c.G. προσαπολέσει S.b.d.
	24	προαγαγέσθαι] M.F.K.a.c. προσαγαγέσθαι P. προσαγεῖν (*sic*) S.V. προσαγαγεῖν b.d.
	30	ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος] M.P.K.V.S. ἐς F.a.c.R.
123	1	ὑπ' ἑκάστων] ὑπὲρ ἑκάστων V. περὶ ἑκάστων d.
124	5	τῷ λεῷ] τῷ ἄλλῳ λαῷ M.F.P.K. The rest τῷ λαῷ.
127	3	δι' οἰκοδομημένου] Schäfer. The MSS. have διοικοδομημένου.
	4	ὑποβὰς] ὑπόβασιν Reiz. ὑποβάσι Schäfer. ὑποβᾶσαν Schw. οἰκοδόμησε] H. Stephens. The MSS. have οἰκοδομῆς.
133	3	αὐτῷ τὸν βίον] αὐτὸν τὸν βίον M.F.P.K.V.T.G.N.b.c. Others αὐτῷ τὸν βίον.
	4	εἶναι ἐνηβητήρια] εἶναι γῆς ἐνηβητήρια Valck.
134	3	λιπομένων ἦν] Schäfer. ἦν λιπομένων S.V.R.c. ἦν λειπομένη F.P.K.b.d. Eton.
135	2	Ῥοδῶπιν] Ῥοδώπιος Valck. Ῥοδώπι Schäfer.
136	4	μήτ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ] S.V. The rest have μηδέ.
137	5	*γενομένων] S.V.T. The rest τασσομένων. *μὲν Βούβαστις πόλις] Eltz. μὲν Βουβάστι πόλι M.F.P.K. ἡ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις S.V.R.
141	1	τῶν μαχίμων] τὸ μάχιμον or τῷ μαχίμῳ or τὸ τῶν μαχίμων Valck.

Ch.	§	
141	5	γυμνῶν ὅπλων] S.V.a.c.R. γυμνῶν ἀνόπλων M.F.P.K. γυμνῶν καὶ ἀνόπλων Wesseling.
143	2	ἵσταται] ἱστᾷ S.V.T.a.c.
144	2	οἰκέοντας] S.V.d. Others οὐκ ἐόντας.
145	4	ἑξακόσια ἔτεα] ἐννακόσια S. ἔτεα omitted by S. and others. ἑξήκοντα ἔτεα Wesseling.
	5	κατὰ τὰ] τὰ omitted by b.d.N.S.V.T., and by a correction in F.
146	2	*[ἄλλους] ἄνδρας γενομένους] ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους F. The majority of MSS. have ἄνδρας ἄλλους γενομένους. K. Hermann proposes to omit ἄλλους, as having arisen from ἀνους (i.e. ἀνθρώπους, a gloss on ἄνδρας). Wesseling reads τοὺς ἄλλους.
147	2	δυώδεκα μοίρας] S.V. Most MSS. have ἐς δυώδεκα μοίρας.
150	1	τὴν ἐς Λιβύην] M.F.P.K.b. τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ V.S.a.
154	1	τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι] τοῖσι Καρσὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι S. τοῖσι συγκατεργασμένοι P.
158	5	[ἀπαρτὶ]] Schäfer from the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Plut.* 388. All the MSS. omit it.
159	2	Μαγδόλῳ] Μαγδώλῳ M.F.a.G. Μαγδάλῳ N.T.
160	1	[ἄνδρες]] In very few MSS. Omitted by M.F.P.K.S.V.d.
161	5	ἀρχῇ] S.V.a.c. ἄρχοι M.F.P.K.N.T.b.d.G.
165		γενοίατο] S.V.a.c.R. ἐγένοντο M.F.P.K.N.b.d.G. ἐγενέατο Wesseling.
168	4	[ἄλλοι]] ἄλλοι read by S.V.T. Omitted by M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. Schw. suggests that χίλιοι has dropped out.
169	3	οἰκία] οἰκεῖα S. Blakesley suggests as the true reading ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἑωυτοῦ having been originally 'written on the margin as a gloss on οἰκεῖα.'
172	7	ἑωυτοῦ] ἑωυτὸν S.T.
173	1	πληθώρης] S.V. The rest πληθούσης.
	4	ἐπεὰν δὲ χρήσωνται, ἐκλύουσι] Omitted by M.F.P.K.a.c.
174	2	καὶ ἠλίσκετο] Valck. καὶ ἁλίσκετο Schw. καταλίσκετο S.V. The rest κατηλίσκετο.
175	1	οἱ] οἷα Abresch.
	6	καὶ ἀχθόμενον] S. Others καταχθόμενον.
		ἐνθύμιον] Valck. ἐνθυμητὸν Bekker. The MSS. have ἐνθυμιστόν.
176	2	Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντες] Schw. Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντος S.V.b.d. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος F.c.d. Blakesley suggests τοῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντος.
		μεγάρου] μεγάλου Schäfer. *Magno illi* Vall.

CH.	§	
181	1	Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἄμασις] S.V.c. Κυρηναίοισι δ' ἐς ἀλλήλους M.F. and others.
	2	οἱ δ'] τοῦ S.V.T.
	5	νόῳ] S.V.a.c. νῷ F.P.b.d. νηῷ M.K.

List of Editions.

The first edition of Herodotus was the Latin Translation of Laurentius Valla. *Venice*, 1474.

The first Greek edition was that of Aldus. *Venice*, 1502. The text of this edition was based principally on the Paris MSS.

Of the numerous editions which followed these the most important were those published by

H. Stephens. In Greek and Latin. *Paris*, 1592.

J. Gronovius. In Greek and Latin. *Leyden*, 1715. This edition contains the first collation of the Medicean MS.

P. Wesseling. In Greek, with Latin notes and Valla's Translation. *Amsterdam*, 1763. Wess. collated A.B.C.K.R.S.V.

The most important editions published in the present century are those of

(1) Schäfer. *Leipzig*, 1800—3. Book IX. is wanting in this edition.

(2) Schweighäuser. *Strasburg*, 1806. *London*, 1818. With Latin notes. Schw. collated F.a.b.c.d.e.f.

(3) Gaisford. *Oxford*, 1824. With *Variorum* notes. Gaisford collated S.

(4) Bekker. *Berlin*, 1833.

(5) Bähr. *Leipzig*, (1834). 1856. With Latin notes, *excursus*, &c. by Bähr and F. Creuzer.

(6) Lhardy. *Leipzig*, 1850—2. Books I.—IV. With a German commentary.

(7) Blakesley. *London*, 1854. With an English commentary.

(8) Krüger. *Berlin*, 1855. With very brief German notes.

(9) Stein. *Berlin*, 1856—62. With a German commentary. Ditto. 2nd ed. 1864—6. This edition contains notes by Dr Brugsch on Book II.

(10) Dietsch. *Leipzig*. Vols. I. and II. 1858.

(11) Abicht. *Leipzig*. Books I—VI. 1861—3. With a German commentary for the use of schools.

Of these the text of (3) is based on (2)—that of (4), (5), and (7) mainly on (3). (9) and (11) are based on independent collations. But a thoroughly satisfactory critical edition has not yet appeared. The commentaries of which most use has been made in the present edition are those of (5), (8),

(9), and (11). For a criticism of the more recent editions, see an article by Abicht, *Philologus*, Vol. XXI., p. 78 foll.

The best translations which have yet appeared are those of Larcher (in French, with a commentary, 1802), Isaac Taylor (1829), and Rawlinson (2nd ed. 1861). The last-named contains copious notes and appendices by the translator, Sir J. G. Wilkinson, and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

The following *subsidia* (among many that might be specified) may be recommended to the notice of students:—

Lexicon Herodoteum. Instruxit J. Schweighäuser. *London*, 1824.

Quaestionum criticarum de dialecto Herodotea Libri quattuor. Bredow. 1846.

Disputationes Herodoteae duae. Jäger. *Gottingen*, 1828.

Die Historische Kunst der Griechen. F. Creuzer. (p. 74 foll., 2nd ed.) *Leipzig*, 1845.

A critical history of the language and literature of Ancient Greece (Vol. IV). Mure. *London*, 1853.

A history of the literature of Ancient Greece. Translated from the German of K. O. Müller. (Vol. I. chs. xvii—xix). *London*, 1858.

The life of Herodotus drawn out of his book. Translated from the German of Dahlmann by G. V. Cox. *Oxford*, 1845.

The geographical system of Herodotus. Rennell. *London*, 1800.

The geography of Herodotus. Wheeler. *London*, 1854.

The early volumes of Grote's History of Greece.

Special *subsidia* for Book II.:—

The manners and customs of the Ancient Egyptians. Wilkinson. Two series, 5 vols. *London*, 1841.

Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs. Kenrick. *London*, 1850.

The Egypt of Herodotus. Kenrick. (A Greek edition of Book II. with English notes and introduction.) *London*, 1841.

Lobeck's Aglaophamus. 1839.

ON THE EXISTING SUBDIVISIONS OF THE TEXT.

THOUGH the oldest MSS. contain the present division of the text into nine books, named after the nine Muses, we find no trace of any such division in the work itself. Herodotus only mentions different λόγοι (I. 75. 1, n.), by the accumulation of which the work seems to have been constructed, much as we may suppose the Homeric poems to have been built up by the accumulation of different ῥαψῳδίαι or 'cantos,'—and with the same possibility in each case of indefinite expansion by the insertion of new episodes. The vagueness of the references (ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ, ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι) prevents us from supposing that the separate λόγοι were all either numbered (we have twice ὁ πρῶτος τῶν λόγων) or named (like ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυοῖσι λόγοισι, II. 161. 3) by Herodotus. The division into books is first mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (fl. c. 8 B.C.), who says that Herodotus γέγραφε ἐν βιβλίοις ἐννέα (XI. 37), and Josephus (c. 70 A.D.) quotes Herodotus ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν (*Archaeol.* X. 1. 4), while Pausanias (c. 180 A.D.) retains the Herodotean phraseology ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροῖσον (III. 2. 3). The existing division was probably due to the Alexandrian grammarians (Bähr), and shews, on the whole, taste and judgment, though the clauses introduced by μέν at the end of the 7th and 8th books illustrate the difficulty of finding breaks in the narrative towards its close. The

'Muses' are first mentioned in connection with Herodotus by Lucian (fl. second cent. A.D.), who seems to consider the title a result of the Olympic recitation: *οὐ θεατὴν ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστὴν Ὀλυμπίων παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν, ᾄδων τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλῶν τοὺς παρόντας, ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτάς* (*Herod.* 1). The order in which the Muses are invariably placed is derived from Hesiod (*Theog.* 77).

The existing division into chapters, which does not appear in the MSS. or earlier editions, was first introduced by Jungermann, who published a reprint of H. Stephen's edition (*Frankfort* 1608), and apologises in his preface for the insertion of '*capita* sive *tmematia*.' The first five lines of Book I. are not included in the numbering of the chapters, and form the *προοίμιον* of the work: cf. Dionys. Halicarn. (*de praecip. Hist.* p. 767 Reiske), *τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ προοίμιόν τε καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ἱστορίας*—words which have led some commentators to suppose absurdly that there was originally an *epilogue* to the work, which has been lost.

The numbering of the sections in the present edition has been taken, for the sake of convenience of reference, from the Oxford text published by Parker, 1856.

BOOK I.

SUMMARY.

B.C.		Chaps.	
	The feud between Asiatics and Europeans was of long standing, according to the Persian and Phœnician legends concerning the rape of Io, of Europa, and of Helen: but in later times	1—4	
	was certainly caused by the conduct of Crœsus, King of Lydia, towards the Greeks. Hence Hdt. narrates	5	
	The History of Lydia	6—94	
	The earlier Lydian dynasties: the story of Candaules and Gyges		6—13
716—560	The dynasty of the Mermnadæ: the first four kings thereof, Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes		14—25
560—546	Crœsus, the fifth king thereof . . .	26—92	
	He subdues lower Asia		26—28
	He converses with Solon . . .		29—33
	The retribution which befalls him: the story of Atys and Adrastus . . .		34—45
	He resolves to attack the Persians, and to that end proves the Greek oracles: the answers received from Delphi .		46—55
	He enquires which is the most powerful Greek state		56
	(Digression concerning the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians: the Dorian and Ionian races		56—58
	The state of affairs at Athens at this time: the three Athenian factions, and the despotism of Pisistratus .		59—64
	The state of affairs at Sparta at this time: the reforms of Lycurgus, and the wars with Tegea) . . .		65—68
	He makes an alliance with the Lacedæmonians		69, 70
	He invades Cappadocia, and after an indecisive engagement with the Persians, returns to Sardis, where he is besieged by Cyrus		71—80
	He asks the Lacedæmonians for help: the feud between Sparta and Argos at this time, and the battle of the three hundred		81—83
	Cyrus takes Sardis, but spares the life of Crœsus		84—91

SUMMARY.

B.C.		Chaps.	
	The offerings of Crœsus: the marvels of Lydia, and the inventions of the Lydians. Hdt. next relates . . .		92—94
	The origin of Cyrus, and the early history of the Medes and Persians	95—140	
	The downfall of the Assyrian empire, and the revolt of the Medes		95
709	Deioces becomes king of the Medes . .		96—101
656—595	His successors, Phraortes, Cyaxares: the irruption of the Scythians . .		102—106
594—560	Astyages: his dream: the birth and bringing up of Cyrus .		107—122
	Cyrus and Harpagus incite the Persians to revolt and dethrone Astyages . .		123—130
	End of the Median and commencement of the Persian empire		
	Persian customs and peculiarities . . .		131—140
	The conquests of Cyrus	141—200	
	1. In lower Asia	141—176	
546	After the subjugation of the Lydians (ch. 84) the Ionians and Æolians settled in Asia send an embassy to Cyrus, but he rejects their proposals. Description of the Ionian and Æolian settlements		141—151
	They ask the Lacedæmonians for help, who send a message to Cyrus		152, 153
	Lydia revolts under Pactyas, and is reconquered by Mazares, to whom Pactyas is given up by the Chians, notwithstanding the warning of the oracle of the Branchidæ to Aristodicus		154—161
	Harpagus subdues Ionia: the Phocæans and Teians depart and found new settlements		162—170
	Harpagus subdues the Carians and Lycians		171—176
	2. In upper Asia	177—200	
538	After subduing other nations, Cyrus attacks the Assyrians of Babylon		178
	Description of Babylon		177—183
	Account of the two famous queens of Babylon: the works of queen Nitocris . .		184—187
	Cyrus takes Babylon		188—191
	The marvels of the land of Babylon, and the customs of the Babylonians . .		192—200
529	Cyrus' expedition against the Massagetæ and death.	201—216	
	Description of the Araxes, the Caspian sea, and the Caucasus		201—204
	The message of Tomyris: the council of war. Cyrus adopts the advice of Crœsus . .		205—208
	The dream of Cyrus: he is defeated and slain		209—214
	Customs of the Massagetæ		215, 216

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΚΛΕΙΩ.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε· ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

1 Περσέων μέν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ 1

Ἁλικαρν.] Aristotle had the reading *Θουρίου* in his copy of Hdt. (*Rhet.* III. 9. 2), and Plutarch (about A.D. 110) says *πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσι Θουρίου.* (*De Exsil.* 13.) The two readings do not necessarily imply two separate editions of the work.

ἥδε] 'You have before you the setting forth of the researches of H.' Earlier chroniclers had begun their works in a similar way :—'Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθέεται, Τίμαιος ὁ Λοκρὸς τάδε ἔφα (Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.*). Cf. Thuc. I. 1. 1. *ἱστορίη*, here not distinguished from *ὄψις*, as at II. 99. 1, denotes the results of enquiry: cf. *οὐ γὰρ ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίης λόγον*, VII. 96. 2, 'I am not driven into telling the story.' The common title of the work among the Greeks was Ἡρ. *ἱστορίαι.*

ὡς] depends on the verbal notion in *ἀπόδεξις.*

τὰ γεν. ἐξ ἀνθρ.] *ἐξ* denotes the agent, a use almost peculiar to Ionic writers and very common in Hdt. There is no tautology in the use of *τὰ γενόμενα* and *ἔργα.* Hdt. intends to divide the subject-matter of his narrative under two heads, (1) human actions, the ordinary subject-matter of history proper (Stein compares *τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων,* used of the Sicilian expedition, Thuc. VI. 88. 7), and (2) the marvels to be found in different countries, whether natural or artificial (here esp. the latter): compare the use of *ἔργον*, 93. 1; II. 35. 1; 101. 1. This second branch appears mainly in the shape of digressions (*προσθήκας*, IV. 30. 1). See in Bk. I., chs. 93, 177—187.

τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ] Stein unnecessarily refers these words to *ἱστ. ἀπόδεξις ἥδε*, which virtually = Ἡρ. *τὴν ἱστορίην ἀπεδέξατο*, and thus takes *τὰ ἄλλα* in apposition. The words will refer equally well to *τὰ γενόμενα*, but prob. no definite substantive is meant to be supplied. The remote causes of the war (i. e. the rise and progress of the Lydian and Persian empires, and the early history of Athens and Sparta) are contained in Bks. I.—IV.; the immediate cause (i. e. the Ionian revolt) in Bk. V.

CH. 1. § 1. **οἱ λόγιοι**] simply = 'the

γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. Τούτους γάρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς 2 καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι· ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ χώρῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. Τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον 3 τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένῃ χώρῃ. Ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο, διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἢ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ 4 ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας, ἄλλας τε πολλάς, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα· τὸ δέ οἱ οὔνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τὠυτὸ τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου. Ταύτας 5 στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεός, ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων, τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὁρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. Τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν 6 ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἁρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα, οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

learned in legend (II. 3. 3; 77. 1). The λόγιος is thus the ῥαψῳδός of prose composition and distinct from the λογοποιός (e.g. Hecatæus, II. 143. 1) or λογογράφος (Thuc. I. 21. 1), who selected a definite portion of the legends for his subject, and endeavoured to harmonize and combine.

§ 2. **Ἐρυθρῆς κ. θ.**] Not only what we now call the Red Sea, but also the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean (202. 8; II. 11. 1; 102. 2), in contradistinction to the Mediterranean (τήνδε τὴν θ. Cf. Lat. *nostrum mare*).

τῇ τε ἄλλῃ χ.] Bähr (2nd ed.) and Krüger following one MS. strike out χώρῃ, because τῇ ἄλλῃ is a common adverbial phrase, and the dat. after ἐσαπικν. would be 'ungrammatical.' But why should not a dat. after a verb of motion be as grammatical as ἐς with the accus. (14. 6) after a verb of rest?

§ 3. **ἅπασι**] 'In everything' (32. 9; 91. 7). With τῶν supply πόλεων. For the early preeminence of Argos see Thuc. I. 9.

ἐν τῇ νῦν] i. e. it was then called by a different name: see ch. 56 foll., and Thuc. I. 3. 2.

ἐς δὴ] Notice the conversational style of the narrative implied in this very common use of δή (II. 105. 1, n.).

§ 4. **πέμπτῃ δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] 'It was a week's fair, closing according to the custom of Semitic nations on the sixth day.' Curtius.

τὸ δέ οἱ οὔν.] In Hdt. though the article has lost to a great extent its demonstrative force, we still find enclitics which belong in construction to another part of the sentence inserted before the substantive, e.g. οἱ δέ σφι βόες, 31. 3; οἱ γάρ με παῖδες, 115. 3.

§ 5. **κατὰ πρύμνην**] The ship would be beached stern-foremost, whilst unloading. θυμός, in its Homeric sense, e.g. πιεῖν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι (132. 5, note).

διακελευσαμένους] δια- = 'from one to the other.' So διαδιδόναι.

2 Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ 1
ὡς Φοίνικες· καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοῦτο ἄρξαι πρῶτον.
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλήνων τινὰς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὔνομα 2
ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσχόντας,
ἁρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἴησαν
δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρῆτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα σφι πρὸς ἴσα 3
γενέσθαι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης
ἀδικίης γενέσθαι. καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηῒ ἐς Αἶάν
τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν, ἐνθεῦτεν διαπρηξα-
μένους καὶ τἄλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο ἁρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος
τὴν θυγατέρα Μήδειαν. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχον ἐς τὴν 4
Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα, αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, καὶ ἀπαιτέειν
τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς 5
τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσάν σφι δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ
3 δώσειν ἐκείνοισι. Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα 1
Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαί οἱ ἐκ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἁρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον
πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι.

CH. 2. § 1. **Φοίνικες**] Bähr is prob. right in retaining this: see below, 5. 2. But the reading Ἕλληνες has some authority and point. 'Dixerat modo scriptor in nomine cum Graecis Persas consensisse, nunc illos in reliqua narratione ab eisdem dissentire ait.' Schw.

ἄρξαι πρῶτον] A pleonasm: II. 77. 7, n.

§ 2. **εἴησαν δ' ἂν**] 'These would probably be Cretans,' i. e. they would prove to be so, if we knew the whole matter. The notion of the possibility of future modifications, which properly applies only to our opinions concerning past events, is transferred to the past events themselves. They were prob. Cretans, because Minos of Crete *παλαίτατος ναυτικὸν ἐκτήσατο* (Thuc. I. 4. 1).

§ 3. **ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα**] Cf. *ἓν πρὸς ἕν*, IV. 50. 2.

μακρῇ νηῒ] the Argo, which may fairly be called a ship of war owing to its crew of warriors. Thuc. talks of *πλοῖα μακρά* in early times as distinct from triremes (I. 14. 2).

καὶ τἄλλα] *καὶ* here, as often, is placed in the clause which according to our idiom would seem least to require it. So *εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος, Σωκράτης*, instead of *εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, καὶ Σωκράτης*. The allusion is to the quest of the golden fleece.

§ 4. **τὸν Κόλχον**] i. e. the king of Colchis. Cf. *τὸν Ἀράβιον*, III. 8. 2; *ὁ Πέρσης*, VII. 116. 1.

ἀπαιτέειν] 'Asked back.' Cf. *ἐκδόντες*, 3. 3.

§ 5. **αὐτοὶ**] The nom. is used, as if *οἱ δὲ ὑπεκρίναντο* had preceded: II. 118. 4, n.

CH. 3. § 1. **δευτέρῃ**] 'A generation later.' Cf. 13. 5; 82. 6.

ἐπιστάμενον] 122. 1, note.

οὔτε] We should have expected *οὐδέ*. The use of *οὔτε* can only be explained by supposing the omission of the corresponding clause. Two opposite points of view are

οὕτω δὴ ἁρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι, 2
πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους, ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ
δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ, προϊσχομένων ταῦτα, 3
προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἁρπαγήν· ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ
δίκας, οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων, βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων
4 δίκας γίνεσθαι. Μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου ἁρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι 1
παρ' ἀλλήλων· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως 2
αἰτίους γενέσθαι. προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς
τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μέν νυν ἁρπάζειν
γυναῖκας, ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἁρπα-
σθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν, ἀνοήτων· τὸ δὲ
μηδεμίαν ὤρην ἔχειν ἁρπασθεισέων, σωφρόνων. δῆλα γὰρ 3
δὴ, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλέατο, οὐκ ἂν ἡρπάζοντο. σφέας 4
μὲν δὴ, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, λέγουσι Πέρσαι, ἁρπαζομενέων
τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι· Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακε-
δαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι, καὶ
ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατε-
λεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι
πολέμιον. Τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα
οἰκειεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν
ἥγηνται κεχωρίσθαι.

implied all through the story. διδόναι is the imperf. infin.:—'were not giving,' the debt being still due.

§ 3. **προϊσχόμενων**] sc. τῶν Ἑλλήνων, the gen. abs. being used instead of the dat. So ἀπαιτεόντων below; μελλόντων, II, 151. 1. After ἐκδόντες supply Μήδειαν. Thus δόντες, ἐκδόντες correspond to αἰτέειν, ἀπαιτέειν above. The second σφι =ἑωυτοῖς. Hdt. generally uses σφίσι for the direct and σφι for the indirect reflexive (86. 6, n.). At VII. 149. 2, λέγειν, σφι μὲν εἶναι, prob. σφίσι should be read (so one MS.). The whole of this opening passage has been parodied by Aristoph. (*Ach.* 523—9). Cf. 179. 4; II. 136. 7.

CH. 4. § 2. **σφέας**] The accus. of the reflexive pronoun instead of the nom. is common in Hdt., e.g. 5. 3; 34. 1. The subject of νομίζειν is σφέας (the Persians). If σπουδήν governs ἁρπασθεισέων, τιμωρέειν is added by way of explanation, but ἁρπασθ. is more prob. the gen. abs., so that τιμωρέειν depends directly on σπ. ποιήσασθαι, as if σπουδάζειν had been the verb used.

§ 3. **δῆλα**] So οἷά τε, 194. 7; ἀδύνατα (also in Thuc.) 91. 1; βιώσιμα, III. 109. 1; χαλεπά, IX. 2. 2.

§ 4. **βάρβαρα**] This excludes the Asiatic Greeks. With οἰκειεῦνται, cf. τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι, IX. 116. 6. The Persians (or Hdt.) here seem to be attributing the sentiments of their own time to an earlier age. Compare the terms of the treaties towards the close of the Peloponnesian war: Thuc. VIII. 58. 2; Xen. *Hell.* V. 1. 31.

5 Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου 1
ἅλωσιν εὑρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς
ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι 2
Πέρσῃσι οὕτω Φοίνικες. οὐ γὰρ ἁρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους 3
λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἄργεϊ
ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα,
αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας, οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοί-
νιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται. ταῦτα μέν 4
νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν 5
τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα
ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων
ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας, προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω
τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων
ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν 6
σμικρὰ γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν
σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐ- 7
δαμὰ ἐν τὠυτῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

6 Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος 1
δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ· ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμ-

CH. 5. § 2. **οὐκ ὁμ. Π. οὕτω**] 'In this way,' i. e. in the way in which the Persians state the facts. 'We should have expected ταῦτα, as at II. 81. 3.' St.

§ 3. **αἰδεομένη τ. τ.**] This in meaning belongs to συνεκπλῶσαι, but it is joined in construction with ἔμαθεν, in order that the apodosis may begin with the emphatic idea, οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν, opposed to ἁρπαγῇ above. ἐθελοντὴν is prob. used adverbially, since ἐθελοντὴς seems to be always masc. Cf. ἀπριάτην, Buttm. *Lexil.*

§ 5. **οὐκ ἔρχ. ἐρ.**] 'I am not going to say.' (122. 3, n.). τὸν = ὅν. The reference is to Crœsus: cf. 6. 2. ἄστεα ἀνθρ. Hom. *Od.* I. 3, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα. Hdt. is prob. alluding to his own travels; ἐπεξιών implies that as he writes he revisits in thought the different cities.

§ 6. **γὰρ**] gives the reason for ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα. αὐτῶν 'is less emphatic than τούτων, the contrast lying between μεγάλα and σμικρά. Cf. οἱ, II. 135. 3; 175. 1; Hom. *Il.* I. 218, ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται, μάλα τ᾽ ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.' St.

§ 7. **ἐπιστάμ. κ.τ.λ.**] A favourite sentiment with Hdt. Cf. 32. 2; 207. 4.

CH. 6. § 1. **τύραννος**] is used to denote the unlimited power of an Oriental king, notwithstanding the hereditary succession (15. 2; 73. 3; 77. 2). At IX. 116. 1, ἐτυράννευε is used of a Persian satrap.

ἐντὸς] On this side of (cf. 174. 4), i. e. to the westward of the H. Hdt. uses the language of a man living on the western coast of Asia Minor. The river is viewed as forming part of the circumference of a circle, of which Halicarnassus or Samos would be the centre.

βρίης μεταξὺ Σύρων καὶ Παφλαγόνων, ἐξίει πρὸς βορέην
ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον. Οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος 2
βαρβάρων πρῶτος, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο
Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιή-
σατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, καὶ Δωριέας 3
τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους.
πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· 4
τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον,
Κροίσου ἐὸν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν
7 πολίων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἁρπαγή. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω 1
περιῆλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου,
καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. Ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες 2
Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ
Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου, τοῦ 3
Βήλου, τοῦ Ἀλκαίου, πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο

Σύρων] i.e. the Cappadocians (72. 1).

ἐξίει] This form (for ἵησι) is common in Homer (*Il.* I. 479; XIII. 444; *Od.* IV. 372).

§ 3. **τοὺς ἐν τῇ Α.**] belongs only to Δωριέας.

Λακεδαιμονίους] Ch. 69.

§ 4. **Κιμμερίων**] See 15. 2; 103. 5; IV. 11.

ἐξ ἐπιδρ. ἁρπαγή] 'A mere raid for plundering' (i.e. not permanent).

CH. 7. § 1. **περιῆλθε**] So περιϊοῦσα, 120. 7; περιχωρέοι, 210. 4. περι here might imply a reference to the wheel of fortune (cf. κύκλος, 207. 4), but the phrase is often used of legitimate succession (e.g. II. 120. 5), in which case each monarch's reign seems to be regarded as a complete cycle or circle, so that the kingship starts afresh at the same point with his successor.

§ 2. **Μυρσίλον**] Below Candaules is called the son of Myrsus: hence Myrsilus would seem to be a patronymic of a Latin or Etruscan type, like *Servilius, Quintilius,* &c. 'This single example is prob. the strongest argument we possess in favour of the Lydian origin (94. 3) of the Etruscans.' H. C. R. On this view however it is not easy to see why Hdt. says that *the Greeks* called Candaules by the name of Myrsilus. We find a *Myrtilus* in Greek legend (acc. to one story, the son of Hermes), and Hdt. may mean that the legends concerning Candaules and the Greek Myrtilus are the same. The former is identified with Hermes in a line of Hipponax (about 546, B. C.): Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μῃονιστὶ Κανδαύλα.

Σαρδίων] Often put by Hdt. instead of Λυδίης. So Thuc. (I. 115) Πισσούνθη, ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε (i. e. the satrapy of Lydia). 'This practice was prob. an imitation of the Persian usage, the Persian language having no letter *l*.' St.

Ἡρακλέος] Not necessarily the Greek hero: see II. 43.

§ 3. **τοῦ Βήλ., τοῦ Ἀ.**] τοῦ in each case belongs to the preceding subst. On the supposed Semitic origin of the Lydians, see Rawlinson, *App.* Bk. I. XI. 6; Curtius, *Hist. Greece* (*E. T.*) I. 76.

Σαρδίων· Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου, ὕστατος. οἱ δὲ πρό- 4
τερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης, ἦσαν
ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος· ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη
ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηΐων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων 5
Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου,
ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρ-
ξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἔτεα πέντε τε
καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν,
8 μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου. Οὗτος δὴ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης 1
ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός· ἐρασθεὶς δέ, ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι
γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην· ὥς τε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων· 2
ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος
μάλιστα· τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγ-
μάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς

§ 4. **ἀπ' ὅτευ**] Cf. 145. 2; 167. 4; II. 46. 4; 99. 7; 100. 3. In these and other passages *ὅστις* seems to be used as simply equivalent to *ὅς*. (Jelf says that *ὅστις* emphasises the subst. = 'that Lydus from whom.') Conversely Hdt. uses the simple relative in indirect questions (56. 2, n.).

οὗτος] 'The present people.' So *ταύτας*, 75. 4.

προτ. Μηΐων] Even in Homer's time the name *Lydian* is unknown.

§ 5. **ἐπιτραφθέντες**] sc. *τὴν ἀρχήν*. The active *ἐπιτρέπω τινὶ τὴν ἀρχήν* becomes in the passive *ἐπιτρέπεταί τις τὴν ἀρχήν*. Compare *τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένος*, and the use of the passives, *ἀπειλοῦμαι, ἐπιβουλεύομαι, πιστεύομαι*.

ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ π.] The number of years does not correspond with Hdt.'s own definition of the length of a 'generation' (II. 142. 2): but here he prob. has taken his numbers from an actually existing register or pedigree.

παῖς παρὰ π. ἐκδ.] II. 41. 4, n.

Ch. 8. § 1. **ἠράσθη**] Either = 'had fallen in love with his own wife,' i. e. before he married her, or simply 'was in love with her,' this *ἔρως* being mentioned as something unusual in an Oriental despot.

ἐρασθεὶς δὲ] Hdt. is very fond of introducing a second clause by the aorist participle of the preceding verb (19. 2; 189. 3; II. 14. 3; 25. 2).

§ 2. **ὥς τε** = Attic *ἅτε*, which Hdt. also uses, as well as *οἷα* (*δή*), and *οἷα τε*.

ἦν γάρ οἱ] The clause containing *γάρ* is here placed before the clause which it is designed to explain. This Homeric use is very common. See 24. 7, note.

Γύγης] Grote, *H. G.* II. 409, (III. 300).

καὶ δὴ καὶ...ὑπερεπαινέων] This may be explained grammatically by supplying *ὑπερετίθετο* again (cf. 193. 7; 195. 1). But the passage is a mixture of two constructions. Either (1) the whole participial clause might have been made to correspond in construction (as it does in meaning) with *τὰ σπ. τῶν πρ.*, or (2) the notion of excessive praise might have been expressed by a finite verb. Hdt. at first seems to have intended to make the sentence of the former type, and then to have added *ὑπερεπαινέων*, in order to make his meaning more clear. Cf. 65. 3.

γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος 3
(χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην
τοιάδε· "Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι περὶ
τοῦ εἴδεος τῆς γυναικὸς (ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι
ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν) ποίεε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι
γυμνήν." Ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας, εἶπε· "Δέσποτα, τίνα 4
λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν
θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται
καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύ- 5
ρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἓν τόδε ἐστὶ, σκοπέειν
τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων 6
γυναικῶν καλλίστην· καί σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων."

9 Ὁ μὲν δὴ, λέγων τοιαῦτα, ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μή τι οἱ ἐξ 1
αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "Θάρσει, 2
Γύγη· καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμὲ, ὥς σεο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον
τόνδε· μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μή τι τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται
βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω, ὥστε μηδὲ 3
μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, ἐν 4
τῷ κοιμώμεθα, ὄπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω· μετὰ

§ 3. **χρῆν**] Possibly the oracle mentioned above (7. 5), contained a prediction as to the downfall of the dynasty (as did the oracle delivered to Gyges, 13. 4). Notice Hdt.'s fatalism. So *χρῆν*, 120. 1; *ἔδεε*, II. 161. 3.

§ 4. **ὑγιέα**] Hom. *Il.* VIII. 524, *μῦθος ὃς μὲν νῦν ὑγιὴς εἰρημένος ἔστω.*

§ 5. **τὰ καλὰ**] 'The things that are right;' right action of course implying right rules of action.

§ 6. **δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι**] See II. 52. 4, note.

CH. 9. § 1. **ἀπεμάχετο**] 'Tried to fight clear' (68. 6, n.).

ἐξ αὐτῶν] The plural might be explained as referring to *ἀνόμων* above. But Hdt. frequently uses *αὐτά* vaguely. Cf. 89. 3; 94. 3; 107. 3.

§ 2. **λόγον τόνδε**] The article is here omitted after the old (epic) fashion, notwithstanding the reference to something already mentioned. It is also omitted (1) where the pronoun is used *δεικτικῶς* (= 'here present'), e.g. *γυναῖκα ταύτην*, II. 115. 7; *τόξον τόδε*, III. 21. 5, (2) where the reference is to what follows, e.g. *κόσμον τόνδε*, I. 99. 2, and (3) where the subst. is a predicate (120. 1, note). St. Pps. *τόνδε* here is in apposition, = my speech, viz. this.

§ 3. **ἀρχὴν**] 'To begin with.' Grammatically *ἀρχήν* is in apposition with the object of the main verb, that object being often, as here, a notion cognate or equivalent to the verbal notion (*οὕτω ὥστε* = *τοιαύτην μηχανὴν ὥστε*). Frequently, however, this construction is lost sight of, and *ἀρχήν* thus becomes a pure adverb (86. 6; 140. 5; II. 28. 1). Compare the use of *τέλος* (76. 5; 82. 6).

§ 4. **τῆς ἀνοιγομένης**] Stein says that this is put inaccurately for *ἀνοιχθείσης*, comparing *τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας*, II. 41. 4; *τὸν λεγόμενον*,

δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον.
κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων 5
κατὰ ἓν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει· καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν
παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ 6
ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνήν, κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένῃ, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ
10 ἐνθεῦτεν ὅκως μή σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων." Ὁ μὲν δή, 1
ὡς οὐκ ἠδύνατο διαφυγέειν, ἦν ἑτοῖμος. ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης,
ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ
οἴκημα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελ- 2
θοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἵματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ
κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο, ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην,
ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. μα- 3
θοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὔτε ἀνέβωσεν αἰσχυν-
θεῖσα, οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν
Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι, καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν, ἐς
11 αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω, οὐδὲν δηλώσασα, 1
ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων
τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἑωυτῇ, ἑτοίμους ποιη-
σαμένη, ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν 2

I. 134. 4. But in both these passages the tense can be justified and here perhaps it is meant to refer to the gradual opening of the door: = 'behind the door that opens as we enter.'

μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα] See II. 129. 3.

§ 5. **κατὰ ἓν ἕκαστον**] This is not a case of tmesis (*κατὰ—θήσει*, cf. 66. 1; 194. 6), but *κατά* has its distributive sense, notwithstanding the addition of *ἕκαστον* (cf. 54. 1; 196. 3). The whole phrase *τῶν ἱμ. κατὰ ἓν ἕκαστον* thus takes the place of an accusative after *θήσει*. So *ἡ τοῦ οἰκοδήματος ἐπὶ μέγα κατέσεισε*, Thuc. II. 76. 4.

παρέξει] here might have *γυνή* for its nom., and *γνωμή* might be the nom. of *παρεῖχε*, 170. 1. But in other passages (III. 73. 1 : 142. 3) the verb must be taken impersonally. So *δηλοῖ*, II. 117. 1; *διέδεξε*, II. 134. 4.

CH. 10. § 1. **Γύγεα**] Above (8. 3), we have *Γύγην*, but compare *δεσπότεα*, II. 7; *Ἀράξεα*, 205. 3 (we have *Ἀράξεω*, 202, 7).

§ 3. **οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθ.**] 'Dissimulavit se animadvertisse,' Gaisf. In the following sentence Hdt. is tacitly contrasting Greek sentiment with barbarian, but prob. in the age of Gyges the views of Greeks and barbarians would have been alike on this point. Thuc. I. 6. 5; Plat. *Rep.* 452 C, *οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ γελοῖα, ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων γυμνοὺς ἄνδρας ὁρᾶσθαι.*

CH. 11. § 1. **οὕτω**] 'In the way I have said.'

ἐκάλεε] So below, *ἔλεγε, ἐπειρώτα*, the imperfect in each case implying that the action took time. This mode of referring to a period

πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι, ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ
πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης 3
ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· "Νῦν τοι δυῶν παρεουσέων, Γύγη, δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλεαι τραπέσθαι· ἢ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας, ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληΐην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἢ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ· ὡς ἂν μή, πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ, τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μή σε δεῖ.
ἀλλ' ἤτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, 4
ἢ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θηησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα." Ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα· 5
μετὰ δὲ ἱκέτευε μή μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως 6
προκειμένην, ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι, ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων 7
τάδε· "Ἐπεί με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν

when the action was still incomplete heightens the description.

§ 2. **ὅκως**] = ὅποτε, a common use.

§ 3. **δυῶν**] There is some MS. authority for δυοῖν here and at 91. 6. But Hdt. hardly ever uses the dual. If ὁδῶν be not actually read (so most edd.), it must be mentally supplied, as implied in ὁκοτέρην τράπεσθαι. Cf. οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, 117. 2.

αὐτίκα οὕτω] 'Now and here.' 'Videtur digito monstrasse satellites ad obtruncandum, si conditionem recusaret, paratos.' Schw.

τοῦ λοιποῦ] 'Another time.'

§ 5. **τέως μὲν...μετὰ δὲ**] II. 93. 8, n. μιν is reflexive, 'but only an indirect reflexive,' Kr. Cf. 45. 1; 86. 6, n.

ἀναγκαίῃ. ἐνδεῖν] Hom. *Il.* II. 111, Ζεύς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἄτῃ ἐνέδησε βαρείῃ.

§ 6. **οὐκ ὦν δὴ—περιεῖναι**] 'It is a peculiarity of Hdt. that when he wishes to express a negative motive, he prefixes it co-ordinately with οὔκων to the consequences which result from it, while the sentence expressing these consequences is not connected by any conjunction, being referred back to the οὖν in οὔκουν.' Jelf. *G. G.* 752. 3. Thus αἱρέεται is not an ordinary instance of asyndeton. Cf. 59. 4; 206. 2. Stein thinks that in these and other passages οὐκ ὦν has an adversative force (= *nec tamen*, *nec vero*). Cf. II. 139. 3; οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδέ, II. 134. 2. It would prob. be more true to say that the Greek idiom leaves the opposition to be inferred from the context.

§ 7. **τέῳ καὶ τρ.**] The exact force of καί in these interrogative clauses has been disputed. Acc. to Hermann (*ad Viger.* 320), it implies a doubt about the matter in question. 'Qui τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν interrogat, is non solum *quid*, sed etiam *an aliquid* dicendum sit dubitat.' More prob. καί emphasises the term to which it is prefixed as being the particular point, about which one requires to have information (Krüg.), and this explanation certainly suits the present passage well: 'seeing thou constrainest me to kill my lord against my will, come, let me hear next what is to be the way wherein we shall lay hands upon him.'

αὐτῷ." Ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη· "Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου 8
ἡ ὁρμὴ ἔσται, ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν·
12 ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται." Ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν 1
ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γινομένης (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ
οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλὰ ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ
Κανδαύλεα) εἵπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί. καί μιν 2
ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην.
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω, ὑπεισδύς τε καὶ 3
ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν, ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληΐην
Γύγης· (τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον
13 γενόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.) Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν 1
βασιληΐην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου.
ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος 2
καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὠυτὸ οἵ τε τοῦ Γύγεω
στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἢν μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον
ἀνέλῃ μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν· ἢν δὲ
μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε 3
δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε 4
μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἥξει ἐς τὸν
πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοί τε καὶ 5
οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπε-
τελέσθη.

CH. 12. § 3. **τοῦ καὶ...ἐπεμνήσθη**] These words have been suspected, partly because they interfere with the run of the sentence (*ἔσχε... καὶ τὴν βασιληΐην Γύγης· ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασ. κ.τ.λ.*), partly because *ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ* is too 'technical an expression,' (St.) for Hdt., who elsewhere (174. 6) uses the phrase *ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ*. A line of Archilochus about Gyges is extant: *οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει* (cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 17. 16). Other fragments imply that Archilochus was a contemporary of Ardys (see Müll. *Gr. Lit.* I. 179), but the words *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον* are not inconsistent with this.

CH. 13. § 2. **τὸν δὲ**] See 113. 2, n; II. 39. 3.

§ 3. **ἐβασίλευσεν**] 'Became king.' Lit. 'was (thenceforth) king,' the aorist denoting an instantaneous change. So *τυραννεύσας* (14. 1) = 'as soon as he had become despot,' and is thus not the same as *τυραννεύων*. Cf. *ἡγήσαντο*, 95. 2; *οὐδεὶς εὑρεθήσεται κάλλιον λαβὼν Εὐαγόρου τὴν βασιλείαν, εἰ ἐξετάζειν τις ἐπιχειρήσει ὅπως ἕκαστος ἐτυράννευσεν*, Isocr. *Euag.* 44.

§ 5. **ἔπεος**] Used in a special sense, = *χρηστηρίου*. Cf. *ἔπεα, ἔπος*, VII. 142. 7; 143. 2. 'The oracle probably ran:—*πεμπτὴν δ' εἰς γενέην ἥξει τίσις Ἡρακλείδαις*.' St. Crœsus is not the *πεμπτὸς ἀπόγονος*, unless we count Gyges himself as the first, acc. to the common Greek idiom. See 91. 2, and 49. 1, note.

14 Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι, τοὺς 1
Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι. Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε 2
ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα. ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου 3
ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι· πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ
ἀργύρου, χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλον τε καὶ, τοῦ μάλιστα
μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστὶ, κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἓξ χρύσεοι
ἀνακέαται. ἑστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, 4
σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθέϊ δὲ λόγῳ χρεω-
μένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς, ἀλλὰ
Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἠετίωνος. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρ- 5
βάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα,
μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεω, Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ 6
δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον, ἐς τὸν προκατίζων
ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα
περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ 7
ἄργυρος, τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην. Ἐσέβαλε μέν νυν στρατιὴν 8
καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεί τε ἦρξε, ἔς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ

CH. 14. § 2. **ἀπέπεμψε**] Pps. not simply 'sent away,' but 'sent back,' ἀπ- implying that the offerings were *due* in return for the decision of the oracle (13. 3). So ἀπέδωκε = gave back, paid as a debt, II. 154. 2.

§ 3. **ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν κ.τ.λ.**] ἀλλὰ is used because of οὐκ ὀλίγα above ('not few, *but*,' where we should say 'not few, *for*'). Tr. 'on the contrary, while of all the silver offerings he has most (i.e. more than any one else) at Delphi, besides the silver he offered an immense quantity of gold; among other things—and it is a gift which most of all deserves to be remembered—golden bowls, six in number, are laid up there as offerings of his.' The antecedent of τοῦ is the verbal notion implied in the clause κρητῆρές οἱ κ.τ.λ.

ἀνακέαται = ἀνατέθεινται. We should have expected κρητῆρας ἀνέθηκε, but the construction is changed.

§ 4. **ἐν τῷ Κ. θ.**] There were several of these θησαυροί at Delphi (Κλαζομενίων θ., 51. 2; Σιφνίων θ., III. 57. 2).

χρεωμένῳ] sc. τινί. This dat. (of relation) denotes the point of view. It is used (1) in describing a locality (e.g. ἐν δεξίᾳ ἐσπλέοντι, ἐκβάντι), (2) in depicting a mental attitude (e.g. σκοπουμένῳ, συνελόντι, παραλιπόντι).

§ 6. **ἐς τὸν**] ἐς, because the rest implies previous motion: cf. 199. 1.

προκατίζων] 'sitting *in public*.' Cf. προεῖπε, 21. 3; ὅτι ἂν προγράφωμεν ἐν τοῖς πινακίοις, 'whatever public notices we put up,' Ar. *Av.* 450.

§ 7. **Γυγάδας**] A Doric form, like καιάδας, the name of the underground cavern at Sparta (Thuc. I. 134. 6).

ἐπωνυμίην is the accus. of cognate notion (= κλῆσιν) after καλέεται.

§ 8. **καὶ οὗτος**] As well as Crœsus (6. 2). Or καί may anticipate the invasions of the later Lydian kings, as related below.

ἐπεί τε] By Hdt., as by Homer

Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἷλε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἔργον 9
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσε-
ράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες.
15 Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην 1
ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἷλε, ἐς Μιλητόν τε
ἐσέβαλε. ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι 2
ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπικέατο
ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἷλον.
16 Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἑνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, 1
ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεα δυώ-
δεκα· Σαδυάττεω δὲ, Ἀλυάττης. Οὗτος δὲ Κυαξάρῃ τε τῷ 2
Δηιόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε, καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε
ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος
κτισθεῖσαν εἷλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μέν νυν 3
τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως.
ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα 4
17 τάδε. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον 1
παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον 2

and the lyric poets, *τε* is often used where later idioms would discard it. Thus we have *ὅσον τε*, 126. 1; *ὥστε* (= *ὡς* or *ἅτε*) 8. 2; *οἷά τε*, 93. 1; *ὅκως τε*, II. 108. 4. In meaning 'it does little more than intimate the correspondency of the clauses which it accompanies, and in its use it almost exclusively accompanies other particles which connect protasis and apodosis or other parallel members of the sentence.' Madv. *G. S.* App. 227. Attic prose has retained *ὡσεί τε, ἔστε, ἅτε, ἐφ' ᾧ τε*.

τὸ ἄστυ] 'The city (probably not the citadel).' Grote. In its strict sense *ἄστυ* is opposed to *πόλις*, as *urbs* to *arx* (176. 1). Cf. *πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος*, 15. 2.

§ 9. **ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ**] See 8. 1, n.

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] *ἀπὸ* (like *ἐκ*) denotes the agent.

CH. 15. § 1. **Ἄρδυος**] B.C. 678—620.

§ 2. **τυραννεύοντος**] Substituted for *βασιλεύσαντος* above (6. 1. n.).

Κιμμέριοι] Grote *H. G.* II. 430 (III. 335) foll.

Σάρδις] Notice the Ionic form of the accus. plur. So *πόλις, ὄψις*.

CH. 16. § 1. **Σαδυάττης**] B.C. 629—617. The MS. in the British Museum reads *Σαρδυάττης* in both passages in this ch., but *Σαδυάττης* in ch. 18 (Long). The name may thus possibly be 'connected with Sardis, as *Ἀλυάττης* is with *Ἅλυς*.' Blakesley.

Σαδυάττεω] Supply *βασιλεύσαντος*, but see II. 112. 1.

§ 2. **Κυαξάρῃ**] Chs. 73, 74.

Κ. τε......καὶ Μήδοισι] (Cyaxares being king of the Medes): cf. 21. 1; 27. 2; 106. 2; Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 12, Germanos atque Ariovistum (St.).

ἀπὸ] 'From,' not 'by.' Schw. compares the force of the prep. in *ἀποικία*.

Κολοφῶνος] Ch. 150.

§ 3. **τούτων**] sc. *τῶν Κλαζομενίων*, by metonymy for *τούτεων* (sc. *Κλαζομενέων*): cf. 151. 2; II. 90. 1. St.

τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἁδρὸς, τηνι-
καῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν. ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων 3
τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηΐου τε καὶ ἀνδρηΐου. ὡς 4
δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε, οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη, οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα,
ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι· ὁ δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν
καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω.
τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης 5
μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε 6
ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμεώμενοι τὴν
γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ,
ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων, ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18 Ταῦτα 1
ποιέων, ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἕνδεκα· ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα
διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἔν τε Λιμενηΐῳ χώρης τῆς σφε-
τέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μέν νυν ἓξ 2
ἔτεα τῶν ἕνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ
ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν (Σαδυ-

CH. 17. § 2. **ἐπελ. γὰρ**] *γὰρ* explains *τάδε* above, as if there had been no intervening sentence, and *τάδε* itself is repeated by *τρόπῳ τοιῷδε* below. The point of the story is thus delayed, to heighten the interest. Cf. 31. 2.

ὅκως] 11. 2, note.

§ 3. **ὑπὸ**] VII. 22. 2, *ὤρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων*. Thuc. V. 70, *χωροῦντες ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν*.

γυν. τε καὶ ἀνδρ.] i.e. prob. 'treble and bass, corresponding to the ordinary sexual difference in the human voice. The corresponding Latin terms are *tibia dextra* and *sinistra*.' Smith's *Dict. Ant.*

§ 4. **κατὰ χώρην**] = *ἀκίνητα*. Cf. *φόρους, οἱ κατὰ χώρην διατελέουσι ἔχοντες*, 'continue as they were,' VI. 42. 3.

ὁ δὲ] See 107. 4, n.

ὅκως διαφθ.] As the destruction of the crops was the important thing, we should have expected this notion to be expressed by a main verb. So at 100, 2, instead of *ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο*, we should have expected *μετεπέμπετο καὶ κ.τ.λ.*

§ 5. **ἔργον** = *προὔργου* (cf. *πρῆγμα*, 79. 1), or rather it combines the two ideas,—work and the results of work: = they did not take the trouble and it would have been no good if they had done so.

§ 6. **ὁ Λυδὸς**] See 2. 4, n.

καὶ σίνεσθαι] 'Something to damage *as well*.' He was not content with the mere invasion.

CH. 18. § 1. **ἐπολέμεε**] sc. *ὁ Λυδός*, a common term which denotes both Sadyattes and Alyattes (§ 2).

ἔτεα ἕνδεκα] B. C. 623—612.

§ 2] **τὰ μέν νυν ἓξ**] Cf. 142. 6; 166. 4; II. 20. 1; 107. 3; 157. 1. 'The article is used, because the part of a definite whole (here eleven) is itself also definite.' Ab. 'The predicating of anything as to any one part of a number implies that the opposite to it may be predicated of the remainder, and thus the number is divided into two distinct parts, each of which is clearly defined and may have the article affixed to it.' Arnold's *Thuc.* I. 116. 1.

ἄττης γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας)· τὰ δὲ
πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἑπόμενα τοῖσι ἓξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω
ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται)
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι 3
δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπε-
λάφρυνον, ὅτι μὴ Χῖοι μοῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταπο- 4
διδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι
19 Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν. Τῷ δὲ 1
δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτεϊ λήϊου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς,
συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὡς ἅφθη τάχιστα
τὸ λήϊον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἅψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπίκλησιν
Ἀσσησίης. ἁφθεὶς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα 2,3
μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο· μετὰ δέ, τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης
ἐς Σάρδις, ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δέ οἱ γενομένης 4
τῆς νούσου, πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβου-
λεύσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν
ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι 5
ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης
ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ.
20 Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι. Μιλήσιοι δὲ 1,2

§ 3. **ὅτι μὴ**] This phrase arose from the use of *οὐδὲν ὅ τι μή*, e.g. *οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν ὅ τι μὴ τοῦτο*, and by transposition, *ὅ τι μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον* (143. 2), lit. 'there was none other town of note, that was not Athens.' *ὅ τι μή* having thus obtained the meaning of *nisi* (*εἰ μή*), is used in sentences, where it cannot have its proper construction (Herm. *ad Viger*. 347).

CH. 19. § 1. **ὡς ἅφθη κ.τ.λ.**] 'As soon as ever the corn had caught fire, it was carried by a violent wind, and set fire to the temple of Athene, who is surnamed of Assessus.' The middle form *ἅψατο* is used of the burning material which 'fastened on' the temple: the active would have been used if some *person* had been the subject of the verb. Cf. VIII. 52. 1. Hdt. omits the temporal augment much more frequently than the syllabic:—almost invariably (1) where the verb begins with a diphthong (*οἴχοντο*, 48. 1; *παραίνεσε*, 80. 4), (2) where the form *-σκον* is used (*ἄγεσκον*, 148. 1; *ἁρδεσκε*, III. 117. 3; *ἔχεσκε*, VI. 12. 1).

ἐπίκλησιν (sc. *ἐούσης*, cf. *ἐὼν ἡλικίην*, 26. 1; *μέγαθος ἐοῦσα*, 178. 3) is virtually an adverb.

§ 4. **ἔδοξε**] Notice the change of construction. Similar instances occur after *οὔτε—τε*, 59. 7; *τε—καί*, 85. 2; 129. 1; *οὐ—ἀλλά*, II. 138. 1; *ἅμα μὲν—ἅμα δέ*, VI. 13. 2.

§ 5. **πρὶν ἢ**] In Attic prose we should prob. have had *ἄν* (as at 30. 12; 82. 7), and not *ἤ*, but this is no reason for reading *ἀνορθώσουσι*. Cf. 136. 2; 199. 5.

CH. 20. § 1. **Δελφῶν**] The asyndeton emphasises *Δελφῶν*, thus marking the opposition to *Μιλήσιοι* below. Cf. II. 7. 3.

τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοισι· Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου, ἐόντα
Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ
μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενό-
μενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅκως ἄν τι προειδὼς
πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλεύηται. Μιλήσιοι μέν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι 3
21 γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξηγγέλθη, αὐτίκα 1
ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον, βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι
Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν
οἰκοδομῇ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν· Θρασύ- 2
βουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς
τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ὅσος ἦν 3
ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ σῖτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς, τοῦτον πάντα
συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς
σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρέεσθαι ἐς ἀλλή-
22 λους. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεέ τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος 1
τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς, ἰδών τε
σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπα-
θείῃσι ἐόντας, ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ. τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς 2
γὰρ δὴ ἰδών τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον
τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Λυδοῦ, ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ
πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων 3
γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ
καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρύσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ
κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους

§ 2. **ὅκως ἄν τι**] *τι* belongs to *βουλεύηται*, the nom. to which is Thrasybulus.

CH. 21. § 1. **ταῦτα**] refers to 19. 5.

§ 2. **ἀπόστολος**] is predicate, *ἀπόστ. ἦν* being equivalent to *ἀπεσταλμένος ἦν*. Cf. V. 38. 2, *ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο* (= *ἀπεστέλλετο*).

πάντα λόγον] 'Every word.' Or it may = *τὸν πάντα λόγον* (III. 8); *πάντα τὸν λόγον* (II. 123. 1). Cf. *οἶκος πᾶς*, 'the whole house,' III. 4; *παντὶ στόλῳ*, V. 46. 2; and the omission of the article with *οὗτος* (9. 2, n.).

§ 3. **κώμῳ χρέεσθαι** = *κωμάζειν*, as *ἁρπαγῇ χρησαμένους* (5. 3) = *ἁρπάσαντας*, and *ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο* (150. 3) = *ὡμολόγησαν* (Ab.).

ἐς ἀλλήλους] 'One with another.' Or perhaps the phrase refers to the practice of visiting the houses of acquaintances during the revels. See note on *ἐς*, 42. 1.

CH. 22. § 2. **ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθ.**] belongs to what follows: cf. *ὡς εἰκάσαι*, 34. 1; *ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν*, 78. 1 (Kr.).

§ 3. **τὸν λεὼν ... κακοῦ**] This phrase, which occurs again, II. 129. 1, seems to be borrowed from some tragedy. St.

ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δέ, ἥ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο, 4
ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ ξυμμάχους. καὶ δύο 5
τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν
τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτός τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν
πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ
ὧδε ἔσχε.

23 Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρα- 1
συβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περί-
ανδρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι 2
δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶυμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι,
Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ
Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον,
καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιή-
σαντά τε καὶ οὐνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24 Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρί- 1
βοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε
καὶ Σικελίην· ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι
ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὁρμᾶσθαι μέν νυν ἐκ Τά- 2
ραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι,

ἢ ὡς] As if *ἐναντίως* had preceded. Cf. 79. 3.

§ 4. **ξείνους**] *ξεινίη* could exist between states as well as between private persons (69. 3; VII. 116). It would merely imply hospitality and gifts (cf. III. 39. 2), while *ξυμμαχίη* would also involve assistance in time of war.

εἶναι] 24. 11, n.

CH. 23. § 1. **Περίανδρος**] B. C. 625—585. *Κυψέλου παῖς* is predicate.

ἐτυράννευε] His power was despotic (i. e. above the law), although he succeeded his father.

§ 2. **Λέσβιοι**] Arion was a native of Methymna, in Lesbos.

ἐπὶ δελφῖνος] This legend prob. has much to do with the extravagant praises bestowed on the dolphin in ancient writers. Aristot. talks of its gentleness and tameness (*Hist. An.* IX. 48). 'Oppian (Greek poet and grammarian about A. D. 200) even brings the dolphin on shore to follow the pipe of the shepherd, and to repose and pasture with his flocks.'

ἐξενειχθ.] 'Carried to shore' (*ἐξ*).

οὐδενὸς δεύτερον] 91. 3, n.

οὐνομάσαντα] The name *διθύραμβος* must from its obscurity be a great deal older than the time of Arion. It appears in a fragment of Archilochus (12. 3, n.).

διδάξαντα] implies that he employed a chorus, 'and therefore gave a regular and dignified character to this song' (Müller, *Gr. Lit.* I. 270). Pindar (*Ol.* XIII. 25) places the origin of the dithyramb at Corinth.

CH. 24. § 1. **τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρ.**] 'The greater part of his time,' i. e. either of his life, or of the time which he spent away from Lesbos. *τὸν πολλὸν* takes by attraction the gender of the partitive genitive: cf. 68. 7.

μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ 3
πελάγεϊ ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ
χρήματα. τὸν δὲ, συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μέν 4
σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. οὐκ ὦν δὴ πείθειν 5
αὐτὸν τούτοισι· ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν δια-
χρᾶσθαί μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν
θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. ἀπειληθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς 6
ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδή σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιϊδεῖν
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἑδωλίοισι ἀεῖσαι·
ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι 7
ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου
ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα.
τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν 8
κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἑδωλίοισι, διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν
ὄρθιον· τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
ἑωυτὸν, ὡς εἶχε, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν 9
ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ, δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι

§ 3. **ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ**] 'Out at sea' (III. 41. 3; IV. 110. 2).

§ 5. **ἢ—ἢ**] The alternative lies between killing himself (with a certainty of burial on land), and letting the water kill him (with a slight possibility of escape).

αὐτὸν διαχρ. μιν] *αὐτόν μιν* = *ἑωυτόν* (so *αὐτήν μιν*, II. 100. 7; *αὐτῷ ἐμοί*, III. 142. 5; *αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν*, V. 91. 2) Kr. For the interposition of the verb, cf. *ἐμέθεν περιδώσομαι αὐτῆς*, Hom. *Od.* XXIII. 78.

ταφῆς] 'At tu nauta vagae ne parce malignus arenae Ossibus et capiti inhumato Particulam dare.' Hor. *Od.* I. 28. 23.

τὴν ταχίστην] 108. 6, n.

§ 6. **σκευῇ**] His minstrel's garb. So Xerxes uses the word of his royal robes, VII. 15. 5.

ἑδωλίοισι] Here prob. not the rowers' seats, but the poop or half-deck at the stern (*ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης*, § 7).

§ 7. **καὶ τοῖσι ἐσ. γὰρ**] Instead of *καὶ τοὺς, ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖσι*. Cf. 114. 3; 155. 4. This construction results from the combination of three common rules of composition, viz. (1) that the clause containing *γάρ* may precede the clause which it explains, (2) that the subject of the main clause should for the sake of clearness and connection come as early as possible in the sentence, (3) that a noun or pronoun, when separated from the clause to which it belongs, follows if possible the construction of the nearest intervening clause.

εἰ] 'To think that.' The use of *εἰ* after *θαυμάζω* and kindred verbs implies that the news is viewed as too good (or bad) to be true.

ἐς μέσ. νέα] 'Amidships:' III. 2, n.

§ 8. **νόμον τὸν ὀρθ.**] The *νόμος* was peculiar to the worship of Apollo. The Orthian seems to have been originally accompanied by the flute: possibly Hdt.'s account implies that Arion first adapted it to a stringed instrument (Ab.).

ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν 10
τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περί- 11
ανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν,
οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων· ὡς δὲ ἄρα
παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ
Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην, 12
καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι
τὸν Ἀρίονα, ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας
οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. Ταῦτα μέν νυν 13
Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι. καὶ Ἀρίονός ἐστι ἀνά-
θημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν
ἄνθρωπος.

25 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον 1
διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἔτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ
πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον, δεύτερος οὗτος 2
τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης, ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν
καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάν-
των τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα,
ὃς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

26 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην 1

§ 11. **ὡς...παρεῖναι**] The inf. in dependent clauses of *oratio obliqua* is common in Greek, though not in Latin. So after *ἐπεί*, *ἐς ὅ*, 94. 6, 8; *εἰ* (unattic), II. 64. 6; *ὅκως* ('whenever'), 140. 2. *ἱστορ.* is passive.

§ 12. **περὶ Ἰτ.**] 'Somewhere in Italy:' 27. 2; *περὶ Αἴγυπτον*, III. 61. 1.

ὥσπερ ἔχων] 'Just as he was when.' Thuc. VI. 31. 5, *ἃ ἔχοντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀπέστελλε* (*ἡ πόλις*).

§ 13. **ἀνάθημα**] 'The fable probably arose from this offering, which represents *Taras* sitting on a dolphin, as he appears on the coins of Tarentum.' Müller, *Gr. Lit.* I. 271.

CH. 25. § 1. **Ἀλυάττης**] B.C. 617—560.

μετέπειτα] implies that his death is the next fact worth mentioning, though he reigned for 52 years after the conclusion of this war.

§ 2. **δεύτ. οὗτος**] With *ἀνέθηκε* (II. 68. 5, n.). The reference is to Gyges (*πρῶτος*, 14. 5).

ὑποκρητηρίδιον] The diminutive probably implies that the stand was smaller in circumference than the bowl.

κολλητόν] 'Inlaid,' Larch.; but more prob. 'welded.' Pausanias (A.D. 160) and Athenaeus (prob. about A.D. 200), who both saw the bowl, give different accounts. Acc. to the former the plates were fastened together *οὐ περόναις ἢ κέντροις, μόνη δὲ ἡ κόλλα συνέχει*. Bähr.

διὰ πάντων] Hom. *Il.* XII. 104, *ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων*.

μοῦνος δὴ] Acc. to Stein this means that the art died with Glaucus. More probably it merely implies that his claim to the discovery was questioned in Hdt.'s time.

Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριή-
κοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι.
ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν 2
πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ
τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε 3
ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ 4
τούτοισι ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἑκάστοισι
Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν
μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος,
27 τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ 1
Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐν-
θεῦτεν ἐπενόεε, νέας ποιησάμενος, ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώ-
τῃσι. ἐόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἑτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ 2
μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ
δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη
νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε, καταπαῦσαι
τὴν ναυπηγίην· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται
μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἔχοντες ἐν νῷ στρατεύεσθαι."
Κροῖσον δὲ, ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα, εἰπεῖν· "Αἲ 3
γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτῃσι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ
Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι." Τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι· 4

Ch. 26. § 1. **Κροῖσος**] B.C. 560—546.

ὃς δὴ] 'Who, as I said' (5. 5; 6. 2). Two sentences are compressed into one: *ὃς δὴ Ἕλλησι ἐπεθήκατο· ἐπεθήκατο δὲ πρ. Ἐφ.*

§ 2. **ἀνέθεσαν**] So Polycrates made an offering of the island Rheneia to Apollo, *ἁλύσεσι δήσας πρὸς τὸν Δῆλον*, Thuc. III. 104. 4.

§ 3. **ἔστι δὲ—στάδιοι**] This is called the *σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν*. The singular is used because the prominent idea is not so many *στάδιοι*, but simply so much intervening space (*μῆκος* is inserted, II. 6. 1).

§ 4. **ἑκάστοισι**] 'Each *state*' (141. 5; 169. 1; II. 41. 4; 63. 2; 123. 1, n.).

τῶν = 'in whose case.' Elsewhere (III. 31. 3) *παρευρίσκειν* (like *παριδεῖν*, 37. 2) takes the dative. But here probably *παρ-*, as in *παραγιγνώσκειν, παραλογίζεσθαι*, introduces the notion of untruthfulness and deceit (St.). Supply *τούτους* after *ἐπαιτιώμενος*.

Ch. 27. § 2. **Βίαντα**] Cf. 170. 1. Acc. to Clinton, Pittacus died B. C. 569.

ἵππον] 179. 3, n.

§ 3. **Αἲ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**] Homeric: *αἲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσήνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν παραθεῖεν*, *Od.* III. 205; *αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο νόημα ποίησ'*, *Od.* XIV. 274.

Λυδῶν παῖδας] 'An old-fashioned form of expression prob. borrowed from the east.' St. Here it might be explained by the Homeric ring of the context (cf. *ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιόπων παισί*, III. 21. 6), but this

"Ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὔξασθαι νησιώτας ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἠπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων· νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο, ἤ, ἐπεί τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;" Κάρτα τε 5
ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ· καί οἱ (προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν) πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω 6
τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

28 Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου, κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε, Λυδοὶ, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαριανδυνοὶ, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήϊκες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι·

explanation will not suit I. 86. 2; V. 49. 2. Homer calls the Maeonians (7. 4, n.) ἱπποκορυσταί (prob. from κορύσσω, 'to equip:' like χαλκοκορυστής). Cf. 79. 4.

§ 4. **ἀρώμενοι**] This is the reading of all the good MSS. and must be retained. The difficulties about it are (1) the participial construction, (2) the nom. case, (3) the repetition of the idea contained in *εὔχεσθαι*, which seems to make it impossible for the one word to depend on the other. The simplest explanation is to regard the passage as an instance of *ἀνακολουθία*. Owing to the intervention of the clause *ἐπεί τε... νέας*, the writer thinks it necessary to repeat the idea contained in *εὔχεσθαι*, and carelessly does so by adding a participle in the nom., as if the sentence had begun: *νησιῶται δὲ ἆρ' οὐκ εὔχοντο;* Translate: 'and what thinkest thou the islanders wished for more, as soon as they learnt, &c.? Are they not praying to catch the Lydians at sea?' The most ingenious emendation suggested is *αἰωρευμένους*, which with *λαβεῖν ἐν θαλάσσῃ* would make a good antithesis to *ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἠπείρῳ* above, if there were any authority for this use of the word. It means 'fluttering' at VII. 92. 2.

δουλώσας ἔχεις] 'Holdest in slavery.' Very common in Hdt. (28; 73. 2; 82. 2; 120. 3), and always implying the permanence of the original action or of its effects.

§ 6. **οἰκημένοισι**] With the construction and meaning of *οἰκέουσι*. So both Hdt. and Thuc.

CH. 28. **εἰσὶ δὲ...Πάμφυλοι**] Stein suspects this passage (1) because the *Λυδοί* are mentioned among the *κατεστραμμένοι*, (2) because Hdt. would also have included the *Καύνιοι, Μιλύαι, Λασόνιοι* and *Ὑγέννεες* (172. 1; III. 90. 1, 2; VII. 77. 1, 2), (3) because elsewhere (VII. 75. 2) he only specifies *Βιθυνοὶ Θρήϊκες*, (4) because the *Χάλυβες* were to the east of the Halys: cf. Grote, *H. G.* II. 433 (III. 340). But we cannot argue from the canon that Hdt. was always perfectly accurate and consistent in his statements. The mention of the *Κίλικες* above is slightly inconsistent with 72. 2, where the Halys is said to flow *διὰ Κιλίκων*. The nom. to *εἰσί* is *οἱ οἰκημένοι*, not *οἱ κατεστραμμένοι*.

29 κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου 1
Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι
τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἳ τοῦτον τὸν
χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο· καὶ 2
δὴ καὶ Σόλων, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύ-
σασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν
ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι
τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθη- 3
ναῖοι· ὁρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἔτεα χρή-
30 σεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὦν 1
τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν | ἐς
Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ
Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληΐοισι 2
ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ, κελεύ-
σαντος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ
τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἐόντα μεγάλα τε
καὶ ὄλβια. θηησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, 3
ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· "Ξεῖνε Ἀθη- 4
ναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλός, καὶ
σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν

CH. 29. § 1. **δὲ** resumes after the parenthesis.

προσεπικτωμένου] Notice the change of tense: 'while he was still adding to the Lydian possessions.'

οἱ πάντες] 'The whole body of sages,' in apposition with ἄλλοι (= 'besides'). *οἱ ἄλλοι π.* would have marked more definitely that Solon was included in the class. The indignation of the pseudo-Plutarch at the use of the word *σοφισταί* here (*τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, οὓς οὗτος σοφιστὰς προσεῖπε, de Herod. malign.* 15) is of course misplaced. Pythagoras is called a *σοφιστής*, IV. 95. 2: cf. II. 49. 3. Stein however suggests a touch of sarcasm in *ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ*,—'the wealth attracted them.'

ὡς ἕκαστος] limits *οἱ πάντες*, 'ut eorum quisque adveniebat, pro se quisque.' Wytt.

§ 2. **Σόλων**] 'Irreconcileable with chronology' Grote. See *H. G.* II. 346 (III. 201), n. 'There may perhaps have been *an interview* between Solon and Croesus in B. C. 570, but it cannot be the interview described by Hdt.'

πρόφασιν] Not 'pretext' (cf. *τῆς θεωρίης εἵνεκεν*, 30. 1), but 'occasion' (II. 161. 3, n.).

ἔθετο] The middle voice, because Solon was a citizen of the state for which he legislated.

CH. 30. § 1. **τῆς θ.**] The article, because of the previous mention of *θεωρίη*. Amasis began to reign B. C. 569.

§ 4. **σοφίης εἵν.**] *εἵνεκεν* here has prob. got into the text from *θεωρ. εἵνεκεν* in the following line. Cf. VI. 86. 6, *τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός*, VI. 86. 6 (St.).

πολλὴν θεωρίης εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἵμερος ἐπεί- 5
ρεσθαί μοι ἐπῆλθε, εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.”
Ὁ μὲν, ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος, ταῦτα ἐπει-
ρώτα. Σόλων δὲ, οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησά- 6
μενος, λέγει· “Ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον.” Ἀποθωυ- 7
μάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἴρετο ἐπιστρεφέως· “Κοίῃ δὴ
κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Τέλλῳ 8
τοῦτο μὲν, τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης, παῖδες ἦσαν καλοί τε
κἀγαθοὶ, καί σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα
παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ βίου εὖ ἥκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν,
τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο. γενομένης γὰρ 9
Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι,
βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπέθανε
κάλλιστα. καί μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ, 10
τῇπερ ἔπεσε, καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

31 Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν 1
Κροῖσον, εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον
μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι.
ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι γὰρ, ἐοῦσι 2
γένος Ἀργείοισι, βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ, ῥώμη
σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ

γῆν πολλήν] Hom. *Od.* II. 364, *ἰέναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν.*

§ 5. **νῦν ὦν**] answers *γάρ* above.

εἴ τινα] contains the two questions 'whether?' and 'whom?'

§ 7. **κοίῃ**] For *κῇ* (*πῇ*), as *κοῖος* stands for *τίς* (39. 2).

§ 8. **τοῦτο μὲν**] This redundant use of *τοῦτο* for the sake of emphasis (= 'here's one thing') is analogous to the insertion of *ὁ* before *δέ* (107.4). See also notes, 124.3; II.68.5.

εὖ ἥκοντι] takes the gen. (= 'in respect of') on the analogy of *εὖ ἔχειν*. Cf. 149. 2; *πῶς ἀγῶνος ἥκομεν*; Eur. *El.* 751. In Attic prose we have *εὖ* (*καλῶς*) *φέρεσθαι* (Thuc. II. 60. 3; V. 16. 1).

ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν] i.e. at Athens, or in Greece: *τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη ἀεί κοτε σύντροφός ἐστι*, VII. 102. 1.

§ 9. **ἀστυγείτονας**] The Megarians (Bähr). Solon distinguished himself in the war between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis (cf. *εἶδες*, § 5). Grote *H. G.* II. 297 (III. 123).

§ 10. **δημοσίῃ**] Thuc. says that this was an old custom at Athens: *τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο*, II. 34. 1; *τοῖς πάλαι*, *ib.* 35. 6.

CH. 31. § 1. **τὰ κατὰ τὸν T.**] 'When S. in the matter of T. had led C. on,' sc. *ἐπερωτᾶν*. Schäfer explains: 'had put C. to flight:' but the middle (as we see from the Homeric use) would mean rather 'to turn and flee.' Prob. *πολλά τε καὶ ὁ.* (cf. *πάντα καλά*, 32. 8) is a predicate, *τὰ κατὰ τὸν* T. having to be supplied with *εἴπας*.

§ 2. **ὑπῆν**] *ὑπ-*, as in *ὑπάρχειν*.

τοιήδε] Repeated by *ὅδε* (17.2, n.).

δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐούσης ὁρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι 3
Ἀργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι
ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν
ὥρῃ· ἐκκληϊόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνίαι, ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
τὴν ζεύγλην, εἷλκον τὴν ἅμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης δέ σφι
ὀχέετο ἡ μήτηρ. σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα 4
διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι,
καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη
ἐπεγένετο. διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς, ὡς ἄμεινον εἴη 5
ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ 6
περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ
Ἀργεῖαι, τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἵων τέκνων ἐκύρησε. ἡ δὲ 7
μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα
ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος, εὔχετο, Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι, τοῖσι
ἑωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἵ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, δοῦναι τὴν θεὸν
τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστόν ἐστι. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν 8
εὐχὴν, ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαι, οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τέλεϊ
τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δέ σφεων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι 9
ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων."

§ 3. **ἔδεε π. τὴν μ.**] She was priestess of Hera.

οἱ δέ σφι β.] I. 4, n.

ἐκκλ. τῇ ὥρῃ] 'Since the time barred them from delay,' *tempore exclusi*, Caes. *B. G.* VII. 11. 5.

§ 4. **τελευτὴ**] Cf. *τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη* (30. 8). Both stories thus illustrate the necessity of 'looking to the end' (32. 16).

§ 5. **ὁ θεὸς**] Not any particular god, but a personification of *τὸ θεῖον* (210. 1, n.). Cf. 32. 17; II. 132. 2. Elsewhere we have the article omitted, *σὺν θεῷ*, 86. 3; *κατὰ δαίμονα*, III. 2.

μᾶλλον] is redundant (cf. 32. 8).

§ 6. **ῥώμην**] Some MSS. read *γνώμην*, 'pium in matrem studium.' But Schw. points out that *ῥώμην* is more appropriate to the antithesis evidently intended between the praises of the *Ἀργεῖοι* and *Ἀργεῖαι*.

οἵων = *ὅτι τοιούτων*, the phrase arising from a mixture of *oratio recta* and *obliqua*. Cf. *ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἵου κακοπαθεῖ*, Thuc. II. 41. 3. Similarly the Homeric phrase, *οἷα ἀγορεύεις* (e.g. *Od.* IV. 611) arises from an attempt to make a clause which is subordinate in sense, coordinate in construction.

§ 7. **Κλεόβι**] So *ἀχάρι*, 41. 1; *Ἀυγδάμι*, 64. 2.

§ 8. **ἐν τ. τ. ἔσχ.**] 'They never rose again, but were held fast in this last sleep.' Cf. *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος*, IX. 37. 3. *τέλεϊ*, sc. *τοῦ βίου* (*τελευτή*, § 4).

§ 9. **εἰκόνας**] Distinguish between *ἀγάλματα*, representations of the gods, *ἀνδριάντες*, statues in honour of victors in the games, &c. set up in public (gen. not portraits), and *εἰκόνες*, portrait-statues of distinguished men, gen. dedicated in temples. This is the earliest known instance of the *εἰκών*.

32 Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι. 1
Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε· "Ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δὲ ἡμε-
τέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδέν, ὥστε οὐδὲ
ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ὦ 2
Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ
ταραχῶδες, ἐπειρωτᾷς ἀνθρωπηΐων πρηγμάτων πέρι; ἐν
γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μέν ἐστι ἰδεῖν τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν· ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς 3
ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομή-
κοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ
δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει 4
τοὔτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὧραι
συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ
ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε,
ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων, χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τουτέων 5
τῶν ἁπασέων ἡμερέων, τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα ἐουσέων
πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων,

CH. 32. § 1. **ἡ δὲ ἡμ.]** *δέ* refers to some parallel thought existing in the speaker's mind. We use 'and' in the same way at the beginning of an animated question: cf. 115. 3, 47. 4, n.

τὸ μηδὲν] The class of nothings: 'nothingness.'

§ 2. **ἐπιστάμ. με κ.τ.λ.]** The same sentiment is put into the mouth of a Persian prince (VII. 10, 13; 46. 6) and of an Egyptian king (III. 40. 3). Cf. I. 5. 7.

τὰ μή = *τοιαῦτα ὥστε μὴ ἐθέλειν* (II. 135. 4).

§ 3. **ἔτεα—ἐνιαυτοὶ]** Here if there is any difference in meaning at all, *ἐνιαυτοί* would seem to be the more definite word of the two, since *ἐνιαυτοί* form the basis of the calculation. Cf. II. 4. 2. But in the Homeric phrase, *ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν*, *ἔτος* is the definite year, and *ἐνιαυτός* merely denotes the natural succession of seasons. The date of the introduction of intercalary months is unknown. The cycle of two years which Hdt. here adopts was called *τριετηρίς* (*διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος*, II. 4. 3), and was subsequently superseded by the *ἐννεατηρίς*. *Dict. Ant. Calendarium.*

§ 4. **παραγιν.]** II. 4. 3, n.

παρὰ τὰ ἑβδ.] 'In the course of,' not 'besides' (II. 121. 25).

§ 5. **τουτέων τῶν ἀπ. κ.τ.λ.]** 26250 ÷ 70 = 375 = the average number of days in a year acc. to Hdt.'s figures. Prob. there is something corrupt, since it is clear from II. 4. 3 (cf. I. 190. 1, n.) that Hdt. knew that the proper number of days in the year was somewhere about 365: but none of the corrections are satisfactory. 'Two inaccuracies produce the error in Hdt.; (1) he makes Solon count his months at 30 days each, whereas the Greek months after the introduction of intercalation were alternately of 29 and 30 days (*κοῖλοι* and *πλήρεις*); (2) he omits to mention that from time to time the intercalary month was omitted altogether.' Rawlinson.

ἡ ἑτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον
προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν ἐστι ἄνθρωπος 6
συμφορή. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μὲν μέγα φαίνεαι, καὶ 7
βασιλεὺς εἶναι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἴρεό με,
οὔκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα
πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέ- 8
ρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μή οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο,
πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα τελευτῆσαι εὖ τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν
γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοί εἰσι, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως
ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος, ἀνόλβιος δέ, 9
δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μούνοισι· οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου
καὶ ἀνολβίου πολλοῖσι. ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ 10
ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ
τοισίδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως
δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει·
ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὔπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ 11
δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος,
τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς, ὄλβιος κεκλῆσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι. πρὶν δ' ἂν 12
τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα.

§ 6. **πᾶν ἐ. ἄνθρ. συμφ.**] 'Man is nothing but accident:' *αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐχὶ ὤνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων*, VII. 49. 4. Wess. renders 'omnino homo calamitas est,' but Solon himself allows that some men are happy. *πᾶσα συμφ.* would have been the regular construction, like *ὁ πάντ' ἄναλκις οὗτος, ἡ πᾶσα βλάβη*, Soph. *El.* 301; *χὠνὴρ ὄξος ἅπαν*, Theocr. 15. 148.

§ 8. **τελευτῆσαι**] The infin. is added after *τύχη ἐπίσποιτο* by way of explanation, and is thus equivalent to the inf. with *ὥστε*. So *καλεεσθαι*, 176. 1; *εἶναι*, II. 121. 6. The antithesis between the *ἀνόλβιος* and the *εὐτυχής* in the next sentence is not very sharply defined. Since the *εὐτυχής* might end miserably, he might turn out to be *ἀνόλβιος* (§ 11, 12). But if the good fortune of the *εὐτυχής* is sufficient to ward off *ἄτη* (§ 10), why should it not be sufficient to ward off a miserable end? And why should a rich man be *ἀνόλβιος*, if he can endure great misfortunes, and if it is only after death that a man can properly be called *ὄλβιος* or *ἀνόλβιος*? Aristotle criticises Solon's view, *Eth. Nic.* I. 10.

§ 10. **οὐκ ὁ. δ. ἐ. ἐνεῖκαι**] Zeugma for *ἐνεῖκαι καὶ ἐκτελέσαι*.

ἄπηρος] The MSS. have *ἄπειρος* which seems to be 'a gloss on *ἀπαθής*, and has displaced another adj., possibly *εὔπορος*.' St.

εὐειδής] illustrates the importance which the Greeks attached to personal beauty. Compare V. 47. 2; IX. 25. 1. Aristotle says *οὐ πάνυ εὐδαιμονικὸς ὁ τὴν ἰδέαν παναισχής* (*Eth.* I. 8. 16).

§ 11. **οὗτος ἐκεῖνος**] 'This man is worthy to be called that happy man whom thou seekest.'

§ 12. **ἐπισχεῖν**] The infinitive is said to be more respectful than

τὰ πάντα μέν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύ- 13
νατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἑωυτῇ
παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει, ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἣ δὲ
ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, ἀρίστη αὕτη. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου 14
σῶμα ἓν οὐδὲν αὔταρκές ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ
ἐνδεές ἐστι. ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελέῃ, καὶ 15
ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ
οὔνομα τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν 16
δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται.
πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέ- 17
33 τρεψε." Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ, οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο,
οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα
δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεὶς τὴν
τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

34 Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις 1
μεγάλη Κροῖσον· ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι
ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὕδοντι 2
ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων
γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο 3
παῖδες· τῶν οὕτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο· ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός· ὁ δὲ
ἕτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὔνομα δέ οἱ 4

the imperative. So Croesus uses it to Cyrus (89. 3), and Demaratus to Xerxes (VII. 209. 9).

§ 14. **ἀνθρ. σῶμα ἓν οὐδὲν**] 'No single mortal man taken alone.'

§ 16. **σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ**] Few passages in Greek literature could be more copiously illustrated than Solon's discourse. The instability of human affairs was a never-failing theme in the Greek drama, and the real nature of happiness, as opposed to good-fortune, was a leading problem of Greek philosophy.

CH. 33. **ταῦτα λέγων κ.τ.λ.**] As the text stands, *λέγων* must refer to Solon, *δόξας* to Croesus; and it seems best to make the change of subject immediately after *ἐχαρίζετο.* One MS. reads *ἀμαθής*, which gets rid of all difficulty. But then how could the corruption *ἀμαθέα* have arisen? In the second *οὔτε*, the negative attaches only to the participle. *ἀποπέμπεται* is the middle: 'sends him from his presence.'

CH. 34. § 1. **μετὰ δὲ Σ. οἰχ.**] II. 129. 3, n.

ὡς εἰκάσαι] 172. 1, n.

ἑωυτὸν] 4. 2, n.

§ 2. **αὐτίκα**] 'brings the punishment into near connection with the crime (*ὅτι ἐνόμισε κ.τ.λ.*).' St.

ἐπέστη] implies a personification of *ὄνειρος*, a dream-spirit. Hom. *Il.* II. 16, 20, *βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὄνειρος...στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς.*

ἔφαινε] The imperfect, because it was in vain (45. 3; 91. 4; 210. 1).

§ 3. **κωφός**] Prob. here = 'deaf and dumb' (38. 3, n.), but elsewhere in Hdt. = 'dumb' (47. 4; IV. 200. 4).

ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ
ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρέῃ βληθέντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεί 5
τε ἐξεγέρθη, καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν
ὄνειρον, ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν
μιν τῶν Λυδῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε,
ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, τοῖσι χρέονται
ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας, ἐς τοὺς
θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ.
35 Ἔχοντος δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς 1
τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας
ἐών, Φρὺξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληΐου. παρελθὼν 2
δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους
καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι· Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι
δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.
ἐπεί τε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο 3
ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· "Ὤνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν
καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἥκων, ἐπίστιος ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε
ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;" Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· "Ὦ 4
βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεώ εἰμι παῖς, οὐνομάζομαι
δὲ Ἄδρηστος· φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι
ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων."
Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγ- 5

§ 5. **ἄγεται**] The middle voice is commonly used of the bridegroom: but compare *υἱεῖ δὲ Σπάρτηθεν Ἀλέκτορος ἤγετο κούρην*, Hom. *Od.* IV. 10.

μή τι οἱ] 'That he might not have one of them, as it hung, fall down upon his son.'

CH. 35. § 1. **οὐ καθαρὸς**] 'Having his hands defiled with blood.'

τοῦ βασ.] Hdt.'s language does not necessarily imply that Phrygia was still under the rule of its native kings. This however might well be the case, notwithstanding its subjugation (ch. 28). Cf. 134. 5, n.

§ 2. **παραπλ. ἡ κάθ.**] Apollonius Rhodius (IV. 693) describes the ceremony. The suppliant sat in silence on the hearth (*ἐπίστιος*, § 3). Then the master of the house sacrificed a young pig and sprinkled the hands of the manslayer with its blood, calling at the same time on *Ζεὺς Καθάρσιος* (cf. 44. 2). See Müller's *Eumenides*, 52, foll.

§ 3. **ἐπεί—ἐποίησε**] Before the purification it would not have been lawful to speak. So Orestes says *σιγῇ δ' ἐτεκτήναντ' ἀπόφθεγκτόν μ', ὅπως | δαιτὸς γενοίμην πώματός τ' αὐτῶν δίχα*, Eur. *Iph. T.* 951.

§ 4. **Ἄδρηστος**] Hdt. clearly wishes his readers to notice the significance of the name (= *ἄφυκτος*, see 43. 2). Mure thinks that *Ἄτυς* also (34. 3) is meant to be significant of 'the youth under the influence of Ate' (*Gr. Lit.* IV. 326).

χανεις ἔκγονος ἐών, καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους· ἔνθα ἀμηχανή-
σεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορὴν δὲ 6
ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων, κερδανέεις πλεῖστον." Ὁ μὲν
δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου.

36 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ 1
ὑὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὁρμεώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ οὔρεος
τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ 2
Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες, ποιέεσκον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν,
ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν
Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, 3
ὑὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα
διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἑλέειν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν 4
ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ, τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ
κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὥς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης."
Οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο. Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ 5
ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ
μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε
γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας 6
καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω· καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι
ἰοῦσι, εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελέειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον

37 ἐκ τῆς χώρης." Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τού- 1
τοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεισέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὼς
τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε 2
παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε·

§ 5. **ἐν ἡμετέρου**] Put for *ἐν ἡμῶν* or *ἐν ἡμετέρῳ* (cf. *ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμετέρου διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς*, *Hymn. Merc.* 370) 'the gen. being retained because the ear was accustomed to it in the case of proper names' e.g. *ἐν Κροίσου*, below. Kr.

CH. 36. § 1. **Μυσίῳ**] To distinguish it from the Thessalian Olympus.

ὑὸς χρῆμα] 'A huge monster of a boar.' This form of expression was apparently common in conversation, as it occurs frequently in Aristophanes. *χρῆμα* emphasises the notion of size, multitude, &c. in the adj. which invariably accompanies it (St.). Cf. III. 109. 5; 130. 7.

γίνεται] 'Appears.'

ἔργα] = *ἀγρούς* (*ὄλωλε δὲ πίονα ἔργα*, Hom. *Od.* IV. 318; *ἀγροὺς καὶ ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων*, *Od.* VI. 259). Cf. 'hominumque boumque labores.'

διαφθείρεσκε] See 19. 1, n.

§ 2. **μὲν—δὲ**] Instead of *οὐ μόνον—ἀλλὰ καί*. There seems to be generally a touch of humour or sarcasm in Hdt.'s use of these antitheses: cf. 59. 6.

§ 5. **καὶ ταῦτά οἱ**] *ταῦτα* = *τὰ τοῦ γάμου*. Cf. *ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα*, VI. 105. 1.

CH. 37. § 2. **τόν γε παῖδα**] *γε* calls attention to the fact that he

"Ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναιότατα
ἡμῖν ἦν, ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν·
νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ
δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ 3
ὄμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι;
κοῖος μέν τις τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι δόξω εἶναι; κοῖος δέ τις τῇ
νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ
ὦν σὺ ἢ μέθες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον, ὅκως
μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος
38 τοῖσδε· "Ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι 1
παριδών τοι, ποιέω ταῦτα· ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῷ
ὕπνῳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι, ὑπὸ γὰρ
αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην 2
τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβα-
νόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ
τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἷς γάρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις 3
ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον, διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν, οὐκ
39 εἶναί μοι λογίζομαι." Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσδε· "Συγ- 1
γνώμη μέν, ὦ πάτερ, τοί, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ

had consented to the rest of the request.

ἡμῖν=*σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί*. The use of *ἡμεῖς* for *ἐγώ* does not occur in Homer (Kr.) and is doubtful in Hdt. Cf. 114. 5; 177. 2.

ἀποκλ. ἔχεις] 27. 4, n.

οὔτε τινὰ κ.τ.λ.] Soph. *O. T.* 536, *φέρ' εἰπέ, πρὸς θεῶν, δειλίαν ἢ μωρίαν | ἰδών τιν' ἔν μοι ταῦτ' ἐβουλεύσω ποιεῖν;*

§ 3. **ὄμμασι**] Soph. *O. T.* 1371, *ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων | πατέρα ποτ' ἂν προσεῖδον.*

ἀγορὴν] The Lydians were a commercial people (94. 1), but the sentiment is unmistakeably Greek.

φαίνεσθαι] 'With what face is it fitting for me to show myself?'

CH. 38. § 2. **τὰ παραλαμβ.**] 'The things which are being taken in hand;' on the analogy of *παραλαμβάνειν ἀρχήν, λόγον*. Blakesley renders: 'to the matter of which news is brought me;' but passages like 55. 1; II. 19. 2, will hardly justify this meaning where the word is used absolutely.

§ 3. **τὴν ἀκοὴν**] These words have been suspected by Larcher and others as the gloss of a copyist, who was unaware of the first meaning of *κωφός* (34. 3). They quote in their favour *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἄφωνος δέ*, 85. 1; and an assertion of Eustathius (commentator on Homer about A.D. 1160), *παρὰ δέ γε τοῖς ὕστερον κωφὸς ὁ τὴν ἀκοὴν βεβλαμμένος*. But *κωφός* certainly='deaf' in the so-called Homeric hymn to Hermes (*καί τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι, καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας, | καὶ σιγᾶν*, 92) which though not composed till some time after B.C. 660 (Müller) must be much earlier than Hdt. The words in the text may therefore stand; though if we believe the somewhat improbable story told at 85. 4, we cannot suppose the deafness to have been continuous or complete.

φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις, ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ
ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. φῄς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον 2
ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ὑὸς δὲ κοῖαι
μέν εἰσι χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρέη, τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ
μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ
ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δή σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ
αἰχμῆς. ἐπεί τε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη,
40 μέτες με." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος· "Ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς,
γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς ὦν νενικημένος
ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετίημί τε σε ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην."

41 Εἴπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα 1
Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε· "Ἄδρηστε, ἐγώ
σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκά-
θηρα, καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπά-
νην· νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γάρ, ἐμεῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς 2
σέ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ
χρηΐζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμεομένου· μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν
κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσει φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ 3
καὶ σέ τοι χρεών ἐστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῖσι
ἔργοισι· πατρώϊόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ, καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη

CH. 39. § 1. **τὸ ὄνειρον**] A gloss according to Abicht. In this case the relative *τό* would be the object of *μανθάνεις* and the subject of λέληθε. Cf. III. 4. But retaining *τὸ ὄνειρον* we may take the relative as the accus. after λέληθε, = 'the point in which,' λέληθε thus having, besides the regular accus. of the person, an irregular accus. of reference or quasi-cognate notion.

§ 2. **ποιέειν τὰ π.**] The form of expression here possibly implies an unwillingness to use definite language owing to feelings of shame, respect, &c. (91. 5; II. 49. 4). But this does not seem to be the case at I. 206. 1, and we may regard the phrase merely as an example of Hdt.'s simplicity of style, the repetition of the verb with the relative being nothing more than another form of the common cognate accusative.

νῦν] 'As it is.' II. 146. 3, n.

CH. 40. **ἔστι τῇ**] On the analogy of *ἔστιν ὅτε*, this must = 'quodammodo,' 'aliquatenus.' Croesus consents reluctantly, being only partially convinced by the reasoning of Atys with regard to the dream. Schw. suggests *ἔστι· τῇ* (= *ταύτῃ*) *με νικᾷς*, 'it is so: in this thou overcomest me.' But this is extremely harsh. Krüger renders 'in one respect,' i.e. by giving an explanation of the dream.

CH. 41. § 1. **ἀχάρι**] 31. 7, n.

§ 2. **ἐπὶ δηλήσει**] 'To harm you,' *ἐπί* denoting the intention of the *κλῶπες*. Cf. *ἐπὶ λύμῃ*, II. 121. 26.

§ 3. **σέ τοι**] *τοι* here has 'its original demonstrative force' (Madv. *G. S. App.* 252): = 'thee there,' i.e. 'thee above all,' like *σέ τοι, σὲ κρίνω, καὶ σέ*, Soph. *El.* 1445.

42 ὑπάρχει." Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως 1
μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἤϊα ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ
τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἰκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας
ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα· πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωυ-
τόν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπεί τε σὺ σπεύδεις, καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι 2
(ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἕτοιμος
ταῦτα. παῖδά τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα
τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

43 Τοιούτοισι ἐπεί τε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἤϊσαν μετὰ 1
ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίῃσι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι 2
δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὔλυμπον τὸ ὄρος, ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον· εὑρόντες δὲ
καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ, ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος,
οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος,
ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὗν, τοῦ μὲν ἁμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου
παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου
τὴν φήμην. ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός·
ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τήν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ 3
44 παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ 1
παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλόν τι ἐδεινολογέετο, ὅτι μιν
ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε. περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ 2
συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος
τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἴη· ἐκάλεε δὲ Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ
Ἑταιρήϊον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον οὐνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν

CH. 42. § 1. **ἐς ὁμήλ.**] 'Into the company of his fellows.' This use of *ἐς* implies that the persons are taken as representing a definite body or place: e.g. *ἐς τοὺς δικαστάς* = *ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον*.

ἂν ἴσχον] Supply *εἰ τὸ βούλεσθαι παρῆν* (Ab.), or more simply *ἄλλως*, as above, and translate *πολλαχῇ* 'on many grounds.' There is some authority for *ἀνίσχον*, 'often before (in like cases) did I restrain myself.'

§ 2. **τοῦ φ. εἵνεκεν**] 'So far as his protector avails:' *θάρσεε τούτου εἵνεκεν*, III. 85. 4. The irony of *φυλάσσοντος* is Sophoclean. See e.g. *O. T.* 246, foll.

CH. 43. § 2. **καθαρθεὶς**] Cf. *θαφθῆναι*, II. 81. 4. The second aspirate not being part of the root, the first aspirate is not changed. Jelf, *G. G.* 31.

καλ. δὲ Ἄδρ.] See note 35. 4.

τοῦ μὲν] Hom. *Il.* VIII. 119, *καὶ τοῦ μέν ῥ' ἀφάμαρτεν, ὁ δ' ἡνίοχον ...βάλε.*

CH. 44. § 1. **μᾶλλόν τι**] 'Aliquanto magis,' i.e. than he would otherwise have done (98. 7; 114. 4). For *τι* see 56. 1.

§ 2. **τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον**] So we have *Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος*, III. 142. 2; *Ἕρκειος* (the household god), VI. 68. 1, 'a small proportion of his thousand surnames,' Grote.

Ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον,
φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων· τὸν δὲ Ἑταιρήϊον, ὡς
φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν, εὑρήκοι πολεμιώτατον. Παρῆσαν 1
δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρὸν, ὄπισθε δὲ εἵπετό
οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑωυ-
τὸν Κροίσῳ, προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν
κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ· λέγων τήν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν,
καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη, οὐδέ οἱ εἴη
βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τόν τε Ἄδρηστον 2
κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκηίῳ τοσούτῳ, καὶ λέγει
πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἔχω, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην,
ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἷς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι 3
τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαο, ἀλλὰ
θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα
ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μέν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ
παῖδα. Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ 4
φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ
καθήραντος, ἐπεί τε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ
σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ᾔδεε
βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἑωυτὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ. Κροῖ-
σος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθεϊ μεγάλῳ κατῆστο, τοῦ παιδὸς
ἐστερημένος.

46 Μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίη καταιρε- 1
θεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων
πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε·

εὑρήκοι] 'The perf. subj. and opt. are often found even in the case of perfects which have not the signification of the present.' Krüger.

CH. 45. § 1. **μιν**] 11. 5, n.

οὐδὲ] For *καὶ οὐ*, there being no previous negative notion expressed.

§ 3. **οὐ σύ μοι**] Hom. *Il.* III. 164, *οὔτι μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί· θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν.*

ὡς οἰκὸς] Possibly this means 'as became a king's son.' The tomb of Croesus' father was a grand *ἔργον* (93. 1). Or else it simply = 'as was natural,' *ἔθαψε* serving to introduce *τὸ σῆμα* below.

§ 4. **φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθ.**] Not to be taken literally. So Oedipus says to Creon, *ἵκου φονεὺς ὢν τοῦδε τἀνδρός* (= *ἐμοῦ*) Soph. *O. T.* 534; and to Polynices, *ζῶ σοῦ φόνεως μεμνημένος* (as my murderer), *O. C.* 1361. (St). Cf. *ἀπολωλεκὼς* above, § 1.

ἡσυχίη τῶν] Cf. *ἡσυχ. τῆς πολιορκίης*, 'peace from the siege,' VI. 135. 2; *ἡσυχία ἐκείνων*, Plat. *Rep.* 566. *e.* 'The genitive is objective, *ἡσυχίη* being equivalent to *κατάπαυσις*.' St.

CH. 46. § 1. **ἡ Ἀστυάγ. κ.τ.λ.**] Below, chs. 107—129.

ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους
γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν
δύναμιν. Μετὰ ὦν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο 2
τῶν μαντηΐων τῶν τε ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, δια-
πέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς
Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δέ τινες ἐπέμ-
ποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον· οἱ δὲ, τῆς
Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ
μαντήϊα, ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος. Λιβύης 3
δὲ παρὰ Ἄμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε
δὲ πειρεώμενος τῶν μαντηΐων ὅ τι φρονέοιεν· ὡς, εἰ φρονέοντα
τὴν ἀληθείην εὑρεθείη, ἐπείρηταί σφεα δεύτερα πέμπων,
47 εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι. Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ 1
τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστη-
ρίων· ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὁρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης
ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι
τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρωτέοντας ὅ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ
Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω. ἅσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα 2
τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ'
ἑωυτόν. Ὅ τι μέν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, 3
οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσῆλθον τά-

ἐνέβησε] Transitive.

καταλαβεῖν] This (=*occupare*) is better than *καταβαλεῖν*. Croesus had not yet formed the idea of crushing the Persian power: compare 53. 2 with 54. 1.

§ 2. **τοῦ ἐν Λιβ.**] '*The one* in L.' In Egypt there were numerous oracles (II. 83. 2), but as Hdt. is here probably speaking of the country (not the continent) of Libya, this passage does not bear upon the question whether he included Egypt in the African continent. See II. 17. 2, note. Three of the Greek oracles mentioned here belong to Apollo, those at Delphi and Abae, and the oracle of the Branchidae (see note, 92. 2). The Dodonaean oracle belonged to Zeus (II. 55. 4). The oracles of Amphiaraus and Trophonius (VIII. 134) were the most important among those belonging to heroes. Besides these Hdt. elsewhere mentions oracles of Apollo at Patara (I. 181. 2), Telmessus (I. 78. 2), Ismenion (VIII. 134, 2), and Ptoon (VIII. 135. 1), and an oracle of Zeus at Olympia (VIII. 134. 2).

ἰέναι] Cf. *τελευτῆσαι*, 32. 8, n.

§ 3. **Ἄμμωνα**] See II. 42. 7.

ὅ τι φρονέοιεν] 'what manner of wisdom they had.'

δεύτερα] Cf. 4. 3, n.

ἐπιχειρέοι] The opt. is used as the form which the deliberative subj. assumes in *oratio obliqua* in past time (53. 1, n.).

Ch. 47. § 1. **ἀπ' ἧς**] i.e. *ἀπὸ ταύτης ἧ*.

§ 3. **μέγαρον**=*ἄδυτον*, 159. 5, note.

χιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπειρώτεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε·

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, 4
καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.
Ὀδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἑψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν,
ᾗ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48 Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι 1
οἴχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὧλλοι οἱ περι- 2
πεμφθέντες παρῆσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ
Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων.
τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν· ὁ δέ, ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν 3
ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μοῦνον εἶναι μαντήϊον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπεί τε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια

χρησόμενοι] This verb, which, as the middle voice of *χράω*, properly = 'to have an answer given one,' 'to consult,' here takes a dative on the analogy of *χρῆσθαι*, *uti* (cf. 53. 2; 157. 5). 'Usuri deo' may be a violent expression, as Schw. says, but it would be worse to construct *τῷ θεῷ* with *ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸ μέγαρον*.

ἡ Πυθίη] Usually the utterances of the Pythia were recast by the *προφήτης* (VIII. 37. 1; 135. 3; VII. 111. 2) who also wrote down the answer when completed (*συγγραψαμένους* above).

§ 4. **Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ**] With *δὲ* here cf. 174. 6; IV. 159. 3. So we have *ἀλλά*, I. 55. 2; and *καί*, VI. 19. 8. Krüger is clearly wrong in comparing these passages with the use of *δέ*, 32. 1. 'The particle may either imply that the verses cited are a fragment from a longer answer, or more prob. that this answer was preceded by another addressed to another enquirer.' St. Cf. VIII. 135. 2. The oracle could only be consulted on certain fixed days (54. 2, n.), and the *προφήτης* prob. combined into one continuous composition all the answers delivered on any one day. But we find *ἀλλά* at the commencement of an oracle delivered to Croesus (55. 2) *after* he had acquired the right of *προμαντηΐη* (54. 2). It is doubtful whether the insertion of these particles can really be explained.

κωφοῦ] 34. 3, n.

φωνεῦντος] Most of the oracles extant are in the Ionic dialect and in hexameters. An exception to the former rule occurs at IV. 157. 3; 159. 3: to the latter at I. 174. 6.

μ' ἐς φρένας] *ἐς* belongs to *ἦλθε* (66. 1, n.), *φρένας* being added epexegetically after *μ'*, according to the Homeric usage, e.g. *ἐπεί σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν*, *Il.* VI. 355.

ἐπιέσται] Sc. *ἡ χελώνη*. For the metaphor of the coverlet compare *λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα* (of being stoned to death) *Il.* III. 57.

CH. 48. § 1. **οἴχοντο ἀπιόντες**] Like *ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*, *βῆ δ' ἰέναι*.

§ 3. **ὁ δὲ**] See 107. 4, n.

αὐτὸς] 'Added to indicate the

τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων, ἐμη-
χανήσατο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ 4
ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας, ὁμοῦ ἕψεε
49 αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ
μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν
Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηΐου ἀπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, ὅ τι
τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα.
οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε, ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο
ἐνόμισε μαντήϊον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

50 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν 1
ἱλάσκετο. κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια

new subject as such.' St. More probably it = 'by himself' or 'with his own hands:' cf. ἕψεε αὐτὸς below. αὐτὸς thus implies the impossibility of collusion: compare the use of the aorist, διέπεμψε:—he did not devise his plan till *after* the departure of his messengers.

CH. 49. **οὕτω τῷ Κρ. ἐχρ.**] No satisfactory explanation has been given of this oracle. We may put on one side as capable of explanation (1) those oracles which seem to have led to their own fulfilment (e.g. the one which led to the rise of Psammetichus, II. 147. 4; 151. 4: cf. IV. 163 foll.; V. 42. 2), (2) those which were prob. invented after the occurrence of the event (cf. I. 13. 5), (3) those which merely enforce some moral or religious precept (e.g. that given to Glaucus, VI. 86. 13: cf. I. 19. 5; 159. 8), (4) those which seem to have been given under the direct influence of some political faction (e.g. those circulated by the medising party in Greece: see VIII. 141; Grote, *H. G.* III. 488 (V. 200); cf. also Hdt. V. 63), (5) those which are clearly the result of imposture (e.g. the ambiguous answers given to Croesus, I. 53. 3, and to the Lacedaemonians, I. 66. 3: compare the special pleading at I. 91). Here we must either disbelieve the story altogether, or attribute the answer to *clairvoyance*. Prob. Hdt. derived his information from the Delphian priests.

τὰ νομιζομ.] Those who consulted the oracle had to sleep in the temple (κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω, VIII. 134. 2) and the answer was supposed to be given in a dream.

οὐδὲ τοῦτο] i.e. any more than in the case of the other oracles.

ἄλλο γε, ἢ]. As if περὶ τούτου had preceded, ἄλλο ἢ being thus used after the negative adverbially in the sense of πλήν. So Thuc. III. 85. 2, ἀπόγνοια τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν virtually = ἀπόγνοια πάντων πλὴν τοῦ κρατεῖν. Some commentators make ἄλλο γε depend on εἶπαι, placing οὐ γάρ...λέγεται in a parenthesis. This does not altogether get rid of the anacoluthon; but they have in their favour IX. 8. 3.

ἐκτῆσθαι] 'That he had got in this too a true oracle.' Abicht reads καὶ τοῦτον, i.e. Amphiaraus too (as well as Apollo) possessed a true oracle. Cf. II. 174. 3.

CH. 50. § 1. **πάντα**] 'E quoque genere animantium, quibus sacra fieri solent.' Herm. *ad Viger.* 94. Cf. 163. 2, n.; II. 91. 5. Here it might mean 'a full three thousand' (so often in Hom. with numerals), were it not for the analogy of πᾶσι δέκα, IV. 88. 1; IX. 81. 3, where it must = ἑκάστου γένους.

ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας, καὶ εἵματα πορφύρεα, καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε· ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ 2
αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα, ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν· καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ 3
τέσσαρα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἕλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο 4
δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεί τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν 5
Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἵδρυτο· καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἕβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον. ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ
51 τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα 1
ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τούτοισι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθεϊ μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν 2

ἀνακτήσεσθαι] Krüger translates 'win *back again*,' 'because the doubt implied in his question might have offended the god.' But this seems fanciful. See L. and S. *Lex*.

§ 2. **τούτῳ**] So the abl. in Latin. 'Cum faciam vitula,' Virg. *Ecl.* III. 77: 'Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis, Seu poscat agna, sive malit haedo,' Hor. *Od.* I. 4. 11. Or (less probably) *τούτῳ* = *τῷ θεῷ*.

ἐκ.] Cf. 185. 7.

ἄπλετον] Used as we use the word 'immense,' without implying the impossibility of measurement. Hdt. proceeds to mention all the data necessary for a calculation of the exact quantity.

ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρ.] 'On their longer side,' 'lengthwise.'

§ 3. **τρίτον ἡμιτ.**] 2½ talents. This correction for *τρία ἡμιτάλαντα* (1½ talents) is most probably right, since Hdt. must have known that gold alloyed with silver (*λευκός*) is lighter than pure gold.

§ 4. **λέοντος**] 84. 3, n.

§ 5. **κατεκαίετο**] B.C. 548. Cf. II. 180. 1.

ἵδρυτο] The four bricks would form the top of the pedestal. 'The remaining 113 were divided so that the second stage from the top would consist of 15 (=5 by 3), the third of 35 (=7 by 5), the fourth of 63 (=9 by 7).' Abicht.

ἑβδ. ἡμ.] 6½ + 3½ = 10.

CH. 51. § 1. **μεγάθεϊ**] This simply = 'in size.' Cf. *μεγάθεϊ μικροί*, II. 74. 1.

ἐσιόντι] 14. 4, n.

§ 2. **ὑπὸ**] 'Upon occasion of.' See II. 36. 2, n.

κατακαέντα· καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων
θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἔνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώ-
δεκα μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηΐου τῆς γωνίης,
χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους. ἐπικίρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν 3
Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δέ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου
ἔργον εἶναι· καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεταί μοι
ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε,
οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστᾶσι· καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο 4
ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον· τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέ-
γραπται ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα·
οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου. ἐπέ- 5
γραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν, Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος
χαρίζεσθαι· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα, οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι.
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι᾽ οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἐστί· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον.
ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα 6
τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ
δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἴδωλον χρύσεον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς
ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ
τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος
52 καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε. τῷ δὲ

ἐπὶ τοῦ πρ. τῆς γ.] 'At the angle of the fore-court,' i. e. in one of the two corners formed by the two cross walls, between which was the entrance into the *νηός* from the fore-court.

§ 3. **ἐπικίρναται γὰρ**] *γὰρ* explains how the number of *ἀμφοραί* is known.

Θεοφανίοισι] 'Prob. the spring festival kept by the Delphians in honour of the reappearance of their god (i. e. the sun).' St. Cf. II. 24. 3.

τὸ συντυχὸν] This though predicate retains the article, because without it the participle would lose its idiomatic meaning.

§ 4. **περιρραντήρια**] Fonts were generally placed at the entrance of temples.

λέγοντες] As if we had had *οἵ φασι* instead of *φαμένων* (=*φαμένων σφέων*).

§ 5. **τῶν τις**] 71. 2, n.

οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι] II. 123. 3, n.

ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ] Sc. *ἐς τὰ περιρραντήρια*.

§ 6. **οὐκ ἐπίσημα**] This probably means 'of no note' (II. 20. 1). But cf. *χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον, ἄσημον*, IX. 41. 3.

χεύματα] 'Bowls,' L. and S. *Lex.* But *χεῦμα* ought to mean the thing poured, not the receptacle. More probably here it = 'castings,' (Stein). *ἀρτήματα χυτά*, II. 69. 2; *χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέροιο*, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 561.

τῆς ἀρτοκόπου] According to Plutarch, she had saved Croesus from being poisoned.

τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δ.] 'The necklace off his wife's neck.'

Ἀμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσεον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53 Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς 1
τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπε- 2
πέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες· "Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήϊα εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων· καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾷ, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον." Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα 3
ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντηΐων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὠυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχήν μιν καταλῦσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων

CH. 52. **τὴν πάθ.**] Acc. to the legend, the earth opened and swallowed him up. Aesch. *Sept.* 583, *ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα, | μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ὑπὸ χθονός* (in Theban territory).

ὁμοίως] With *χρ. πᾶν*, 'of gold, all over alike.'

αἰχμὴν] Properly the point, here used of the whole spear.

τὸ ξυστὸν] The part in apposition with the whole (II. 41. 4, n.). The plural *λόγχῃσι* denotes that the two ends of the spear are meant, both the point, the *λόγχη* proper (= *αἰχμή*) and the spike, *σαυρωτήρ* (VII. 41. 3), or *στυράκιον* (Thuc. II. 4. 3).

καὶ ἀμφότερα] 117. 1, n.

καὶ Θηβ.] 102. 4, n.

CH. 53. § 1. **στρατεύηται... προσθέοιτο**] Both subj. and opt. must have a deliberative sense. For the latter, cf. *εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι*, 46. 3. The exact force of the change of mood is very doubtful. Possibly the optative implies an additional condition, and thus expresses a more remote contingency:—'and *in that case* whether he should take to himself.' See Jelf, *G. G.* 809. 2. G. Hermann (*Opusc.* IV. 90) renders *προσθέοιτο* 'an *censerent oracula* socios adjungi.' 'Primo interrogat an debeat proficisci, quae ipsius est deliberatio; deinde, si debeat, an oracula id se velint cum sociis facere, idque est ex oraculorum mente dictum.' Compare the use of the opt. with *ἵνα*, II. 93. 7, n. But a very possible explanation is simply that in the time of Hdt. grammatical rules had not acquired that fixity, which grammars lay down.

§ 2. **ἐς τὰ**] Sc. *ἱρά*.

ἐχρ. τοῖς χρηστ.] 47. 3, n.

τάδε] Notice the plur. So *ὑμῖν* below = *σοί, ὦ Φοῖβε, καὶ σοί, ὦ Ἀμφιάρεω*. The form of words is one which would only be applicable to both oracles, if consulted together.

§ 3. **καταλῦσαι**] By the use of the aorist, all reference to time is

δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.
54 Ἐπεί τε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, 1
ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας κατα-
λύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὖτις ἐς Πυθὼ Δελ-
φοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο
στατῆρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν 2
Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην,
καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ
55 χρόνον. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστη- 1
ριάζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεί τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηίου
ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηρια-
ζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη 2
οἱ χρᾷ τάδε·

Ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἕρμον
φεύγειν, μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56 Τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα 1
πάντων ἥσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύ-
σειν Μήδων· οὐδ' ὦν αὐτός, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαί

avoided: = 'foretelling to Croesus his overthrow of a great dominion.' The line was Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει (Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 5. 4); rendered by Cicero, 'Croesus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim' (*De Div.* II. 56).

CH. 54. § 1. **Πυθὼ**] 'Used instead of Δελφούς, because this latter follows immediately in another sense.' Stein.

κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον] Cf. 9. 5.

§ 2. **προμαντηίην**] Other people had to draw lots for precedence in consulting the oracle, which was only open on certain days. Aesch. *Eum.* 32, πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται.

ἀτελείην] This implies that there was a fee for consultation.

προεδρίην] At the Pythian games.

CH. 55. § 2. **Ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν**] See 47. 4, note. For ἡμίονος, see 91. 5.

ποδαβρὲ] The epithet suits the character of the later Lydians. Cf. κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, 155. 6.

Ἕρμον] See 80. 1.

φεύγειν] 32. 12, n.

CH. 56. § 1. **πολλόν τι**] A very common use of τι in Hdt. (πολλός τις once in Homer, *Il.* VII. 156). Properly τις added to an adj. of quantity or numeral renders it less precise, e.g. ὀλίγοι τινές, 'some few,' τρεῖς τινές, 'three or so.' But τι is used by Hdt. in these phrases as a pure adverb (we have πολλῷ τι πλεῖστος, III. 116. 1, instead of πολλῷ τέῳ or πολλόν τι), and often derives from the context an emphasizing force: 'something much' = 'very much.' Cf. οὕτω δή τι, ὀλίγον τι, 185. 2, 5; μᾶλλόν τι, 44. 1; σμικρόν τι, II. 7. 3; ὅσον τι, I. 185. 4.

οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ] The nom. (instead of the accus.) owing to αὐτός above.

κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς 2
ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους.
ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέ-
χοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ.
ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τὸ μὲν 3
Πελασγικὸν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῆ
κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πουλυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ 4
Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου
τοῦ Ἕλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὄσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὔλυμπον
χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος
ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδνὸν
καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ 5
ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν, Δωρικὸν
ἐκλήθη.

57 Ἣν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ, οὐκ ἔχω 1

§ 2. **τοὺς**] Hdt. often uses the simple relative in indirect questions, just as conversely he uses *ὅστις* for *ὅς* (7. 4). 'The optative with *ἂν* stands in dependent interrogative sentences which would have the same form in *oratio recta*.' Madv. *G. S.* 137.

§ 3. **ταῦτα γὰρ**] Two MSS. omit the whole of this passage down to the end of ch. 68. Possibly we have here one of the later additions made by the author to his work.

τὸ μὲν] This in both cases = *τὸ Ἰωνικόν*. Stein thus sums up the difficulties of the passage:—'If the assertion *τὸ μὲν...ἐξεχώρησε* is understood of the *Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος*, it is inconsistent with the accounts given of the early diffusion of the Pelasgi (57. 2, 4); if it be understood of the *Ἰωνικὸν ἔθνος*, it is inconsistent with the migrations of the Ionians into and out of Attica, (VII. 94; I. 146. 4; 147. 2): if it be restricted to the inhabitants of Attica (cf. VII. 161. 6; Thuc. I. 2. 5) it only applies to them, in so far as they were not of Ionian descent, and does not therefore suit in this connection.' Prob. the third hypothesis is the best. Hdt.'s general assertion will really only apply to that branch of the so-called Ionian or Pelasgic race which remained in Attica.

§ 4. **ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**] 'This connected account can only be viewed as an attempt to arrange and reconcile various legends. The chain of Olympus is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.' Müller's *Dorians*, I. I. I. Hellen acc. to the legend had three sons, Dorus Aeolus and Xuthus, this last the father of Achaeus and Ion.

Μακεδνὸν] 'The Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words, but there does not appear to be any peculiar connection with the Doric dialect. Prob. Hdt. followed some Macedonian accounts.' Müller.

§ 5. **αὖτις**] With *ἐνθεῦτεν*. The idea of repetition belongs only to *μετέβη*, not to *ἐς τὴν Δρ.*

Δρυοπίδα] The district afterwards called Doris, between Oeta and Parnassus.

οὕτως] 'After all this.'

ἐς Πελ.] The migration which is called in legend the return of the Heracleidae. See Grote, *H. G.* I. 82 (I. 130); Curtius, *Hist. Greece* (*E. T.*), I. 109; 162.

ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεὼν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι, οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν
Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην· καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην 2
Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ
οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν 3
οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν Πελασ-

CH. 57. § 1. **ὑπὲρ Τυρσ. Κρηστῶνα**] Niebuhr (*Hist. Rome*, I. 34) proposes to read Κρότῶνα, i.e. Croton or Cortona in Etruria. But Hdt. mentions a district called Crestonia in Thrace (VII. 124. 3; 127. 2; VIII. 116. 1) and Thuc. places Τυρσηνοί in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos (IV. 109. 4). The main argument in Niebuhr's favour is that these Τυρσηνοί were Pelasgi (Thuc. *l. c.*) and ought therefore to have spoken the same language as the people of Creston, which acc. to Hdt. was not the case (below, § 4). This however is not a sufficient reason for altering the reading of the MSS.

οἳ ὅμουροι] i. e. these Pelasgians formerly occupied Thessaliotis (one district of Thessaly) which borders on Histiaeotis, where the Dorians formerly lived (56. 4).

§ 2. **Ἑλλησπόντῳ**] Placia and Scylace were really on the Propontis, but compare the use of Ἑλλήσποντος, IV. 38. 2.

σύνοικοι ἐγ. Ἀθ.] Cf. II. 51. 2; VI. 137; Thuc. IV. 109. 4.

τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε] Changed the name (though they really are Pelasgic).

βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν] Grote rightly points out that these words imply 'a substantive language different from Greek,' *H. G.* II. 46 (II. 354): but the difference need not be greater than that between Latin and Greek, or Anglo-Saxon and English. On the Indo-European origin of the Pelasgi most modern authorities are agreed. The main difficulty in Hdt.'s account is the relation between the Pelasgi and Hellenes. If the latter were originally a branch of the former (cf. 58. 2), it is not easy to see the force of the sharp contrast which he draws between the two. The explanation prob. is (1) that the term Pelasgic is used by Hdt., both (i.) in a wider sense to denote the whole mass of races, some of which afterwards became Hellenic (so the ancient name of Hellas is said to have been Pelasgia, II. 56. 1), and (ii.) in a narrower sense to denote a special tribe (with a distinct language of its own) which resisted Hellenic influence: (2) that Hdt.'s notion of nationality was different from the modern idea. With him it was a religious question, since every nation derived its origin from some divine or semi-divine ἐπώνυμος. Thus by the adoption of the religious rites (and ἐπώνυμοι) of other tribes it was possible for nations really to *change* (cf. μεταβολὴ ἐς Ἕλληνας, § 3) their nationality. For a summary of modern theories on the Pelasgi see Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* Add Curtius I. 30, foll.

§ 3. **τὸ Ἀττ. ἔθν. κ.τ.λ.**] 'The converse conclusion, that the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος could not have been Pelasgic, would have been more correct.' Stein. But see Curtius, I. 124.

γικὸν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν
μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν 4
νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακι-
ηνοὶ, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἠνείκαντο
γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία,
58 τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσσῃ μὲν, 1
ἐπεί τε ἐγένετο, αἰεί κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ κατα-
φαίνεται εἶναι. ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, 2
ἐὸν ἀσθενὲς, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τέο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμεώμενον, αὔξηται
ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλῶν, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων
αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὦν 3
ἐμοί τε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον,
οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι.

CH. 58. § 1. **γλώσσῃ μὲν**] Their *language* (unlike that of the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος) has always been the same (i.e. distinct from that of the Pelasgi) since they became a distinct nation: but still (*μέντοι*) they were originally a branch of the Pelasgi.

ἐπεί τε = ἐξ οὗ.

§ 2. **ἀποσχισθὲν**] So Thuc. *τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι (δοκεῖ μοι) ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη (Ἑλλὰς), κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι*, I. 3. 2.

σμικροῦ τέο] 56. 1, n.

τῶν ἐθνέων π.] *πολλὸν* and *τῶν πολλῶν* have been conjectured. Stein reads *τῶν ἐθνέων*, Πελασγῶν *μάλιστα*(!). But the repetition *πλῆθος—πολλῶν* is not unlike Hdt., and the text may stand, if *πολλῶν* be pressed as predicate. Translate: 'though starting from very small beginnings, it has waxed great, and many are the nations into which it has multiplied.' *τῶν ἐθν.* = the well-known tribes which compose it.

καὶ ἄλλων] 'Besides.' Lit. 'other than themselves,' the Ἕλληνες being thus acc. to the Greek idiom regarded as forming part of the class, *βάρβαροι*; see 193, 4, note. For instances of barbarian races which have been incorporated with the Hellenic, see I. 146. 2, 3; VIII. 43. 3; 44. 3; 46. 4.

§ 3. **πρὸς δὴ ὦν**] Bähr adopts Matthiä's rendering: 'accedit—et sic mihi videtur—quod Pelasgica gens, etc.' But *πρός* with *δή* cannot mean 'besides' as in the phrases *πρὸς δέ, καὶ πρός*, says Krüger, who suggests *πρὸς ὃ δὴ ὦν*. Stein proposes *πρόσθε δὲ ὦν*, 'earlier at least,' i.e. before their union with the Hellenes: but this involves reading Πελασγῶν above. Notwithstanding Krüger's objection (if we have *πρὸς γάρ*, III. 91. 4, why not *πρὸς δή* here?) it is best to follow Matthiä, who also rightly defends *ἐμοί τε*, 'quasi supplendum *καὶ ἄλλῳ*.' So often *ἐμοὶ μέν* without any following *δέ*.

οὐδὲ] Any more than the Hellenic, before it separated from its parent-stock.

ἐὸν βάρβ.] So long as it was barbarian. Hdt. is referring to instances in which Pelasgic tribes became Hellenized. As the Hellenic race made no advance till it had separated from the Pelasgic, so Pelasgic tribes made no advance unless they submitted themselves to the civilizing influence of the now separated Hellenes.

τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων, ἐμη-
χανήσατο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ 4
ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας, ὁμοῦ ἕψεε
49 αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ
μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν
Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηΐου ἀπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, ὅ τι
τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα.
οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε, ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο
ἐνόμισε μαντήϊον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.
50 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν 1
ἱλάσκετο. κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια

new subject as such.' St. More probably it = 'by himself' or 'with his own hands:' cf. ἕψεε αὐτὸς below. αὐτὸς thus implies the impossibility of collusion: compare the use of the aorist, διέπεμψε:—he did not devise his plan till *after* the departure of his messengers.

CH. 49. **οὕτω τῷ Κρ. ἐχρ.**] No satisfactory explanation has been given of this oracle. We may put on one side as capable of explanation (1) those oracles which seem to have led to their own fulfilment (e.g. the one which led to the rise of Psammetichus, II. 147. 4; 151. 4: cf. IV. 163 foll.; V. 42. 2), (2) those which were prob. invented after the occurrence of the event (cf. I. 13. 5), (3) those which merely enforce some moral or religious precept (e.g. that given to Glaucus, VI. 86. 13: cf. I. 19. 5; 159. 8), (4) those which seem to have been given under the direct influence of some political faction (e.g. those circulated by the medising party in Greece: see VIII. 141; Grote, *H. G.* III. 488 (V. 200); cf. also Hdt. V. 63), (5) those which are clearly the result of imposture (e.g. the ambiguous answers given to Croesus, I. 53. 3, and to the Lacedaemonians, I. 66. 3: compare the special pleading at I. 91). Here we must either disbelieve the story altogether, or attribute the answer to *clairvoyance*. Prob. Hdt. derived his information from the Delphian priests.

τὰ νομιζομ.] Those who consulted the oracle had to sleep in the temple (κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω, VIII. 134. 2) and the answer was supposed to be given in a dream.

οὐδὲ τοῦτο] i. e. any more than in the case of the other oracles.

ἄλλο γε, ἤ]· As if περὶ τούτου had preceded, ἄλλο ἤ being thus used after the negative adverbially in the sense of πλήν. So Thuc. III. 85. 2, ἀπόγνοια τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν virtually = ἀπόγνοια πάντων πλὴν τοῦ κρατεῖν. Some commentators make ἄλλο γε depend on εἶπαι, placing οὐ γάρ...λέγεται in a parenthesis. This does not altogether get rid of the anacoluthon; but they have in their favour IX. 8. 3.

ἐκτῆσθαι] 'That he had got in this too a true oracle.' Abicht reads καὶ τοῦτον, i. e. Amphiaraus too (as well as Apollo) possessed a true oracle. Cf. II. 174. 3.

CH. 50. § 1. **πάντα**] 'E quoque genere animantium, quibus sacra fieri solent.' Herm. *ad Viger.* 94. Cf. 163. 2, n.; II. 91. 5. Here it might mean 'a full three thousand' (so often in Hom. with numerals), were it not for the analogy of πᾶσι δέκα, IV. 88. 1; IX. 81. 3, where it must = ἑκάστου γένους.

ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, καὶ φιάλας
χρυσέας, καὶ εἵματα πορφύρεα, καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν
μεγάλην, κατέκαιε· ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι
ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ 2
αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγέ-
νετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ
ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ
τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα, ἀριθμὸν
δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν· καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ 3
τέσσαρα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἕλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο 4
δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν
τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεί τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν 5
Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ
τούτοισι ἵδρυτο· καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ,
ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἕβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον. ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ
51 τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα 1
ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τούτοισι, κρητῆρας
δύο μεγάθεϊ μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν
χρύσεος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος
ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν 2

ἀνακτήσεσθαι] Krüger translates 'win *back again*,' 'because the doubt implied in his question might have offended the god.' But this seems fanciful. See L. and S. *Lex*.

§ 2. **τούτῳ**] So the abl. in Latin. 'Cum faciam vitula,' Virg. *Ecl.* III. 77: 'Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis, Seu poscat agna, sive malit haedo,' Hor. *Od.* I. 4. 11. Or (less probably) *τούτῳ* = *τῷ θεῷ*.

ἐκ.] Cf. 185. 7.

ἄπλετον] Used as we use the word 'immense,' without implying the impossibility of measurement. Hdt. proceeds to mention all the data necessary for a calculation of the exact quantity.

ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρ.] 'On their longer side,' 'lengthwise.'

§ 3. **τρίτον ἡμιτ.**] 2½ talents. This correction for *τρία ἡμιτάλαντα* (1½ talents) is most probably right, since Hdt. must have known that gold alloyed with silver (*λευκός*) is lighter than pure gold.

§ 4. **λέοντος**] 84. 3, n.

§ 5. **κατεκαίετο**] B.C. 548. Cf. II. 180. 1.

ἵδρυτο] The four bricks would form the top of the pedestal. 'The remaining 113 were divided so that the second stage from the top would consist of 15 (=5 by 3), the third of 35 (=7 by 5), the fourth of 63 (=9 by 7).' Abicht.

ἕβδ. ἡμ.] 6½ + 3½ = 10.

CH. 51. § 1. **μεγάθεϊ**] This simply = 'in size.' Cf. *μεγάθεϊ μικροί*, II. 74. 1.

ἐσιόντι] 14. 4, n.

§ 2. **ὑπὸ**] 'Upon occasion of.' See II. 36. 2, n.

κατακαέντα· καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων
θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἔνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώ-
δεκα μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηΐου τῆς γωνίης,
χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους. ἐπικίρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν 3
Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δέ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου
ἔργον εἶναι· καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεταί μοι
ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε,
οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστᾶσι· καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο 4
ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον· τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέ-
γραπται ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα·
οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου. ἐπέ- 5
γραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν, Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος
χαρίζεσθαι· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα, οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἐστί· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον.
ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα 6
τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ
δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἴδωλον χρύσεον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς
ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ
τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος
52 καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε. τῷ δὲ

ἐπὶ τοῦ πρ. τῆς γ.] 'At the angle of the fore-court,' i. e. in one of the two corners formed by the two cross walls, between which was the entrance into the *νηός* from the fore-court.

§ 3. **ἐπικίρναται γάρ**] *γάρ* explains how the number of *ἀμφοραί* is known.

Θεοφανίοισι] 'Prob. the spring festival kept by the Delphians in honour of the reappearance of their god (i. e. the sun).' St. Cf. II. 24. 3.

τὸ συντυχὸν] This though predicate retains the article, because without it the participle would lose its idiomatic meaning.

§ 4. **περιρραντήρια**] Fonts were generally placed at the entrance of temples.

λέγοντες] As if we had had *οἵ φασι* instead of *φαμένων* (= *φαμένων σφέων*).

§ 5. **τῶν τις**] 71. 2, n.

οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι] II. 123. 3, n.

ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ] Sc. *ἐς τὰ περιρραντήρια*.

§ 6. **οὐκ ἐπίσημα**] This probably means 'of no note' (II. 20. 1). But cf. *χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον, ἄσημον*, IX. 41. 3.

χεύματα] 'Bowls,' L. and S. *Lex.* But *χεῦμα* ought to mean the thing poured, not the receptacle. More probably here it = 'castings,' (Stein). *ἀρτήματα χυτά*, II. 69. 2; *χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέροιο*, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 561.

τῆς ἀρτοκόπου] According to Plutarch, she had saved Croesus from being poisoned.

τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δ.] 'The necklace off his wife's neck.'

Ἀμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην,
ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν
πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσεον·
τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ
Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53 Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς 1
τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ
στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν
ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπε- 2
πέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο
τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες· "Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ
ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήϊα εἶναι μοῦνα
ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων,
καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾷ, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἴ
τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον." Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα 3
ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντηΐων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὠυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι
συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρ-
σας, μεγάλην ἀρχήν μιν καταλῦσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων

CH. 52. **τὴν πάθ.**] Acc. to the legend, the earth opened and swallowed him up. Aesch. *Sept.* 583, ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα, | μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ὑπὸ χθονός (in Theban territory).

ὁμοίως] With χρ. πᾶν, 'of gold, all over alike.'

αἰχμὴν] Properly the point, here used of the whole spear.

τὸ ξυστὸν] The part in apposition with the whole (II. 41. 4, n.). The plural λόγχῃσι denotes that the two ends of the spear are meant, both the point, the λόγχη proper (= αἰχμή) and the spike, σαυρωτήρ (VII. 41. 3), or στυράκιον (Thuc. II. 4. 3).

καὶ ἀμφότερα] 117. 1, n.

καὶ Θηβ.] 102. 4, n.

CH. 53. § 1. **στρατεύηται... προσθέοιτο**] Both subj. and opt. must have a deliberative sense. For the latter, cf. εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι, 46. 3. The exact force of the change of mood is very doubtful. Possibly the optative implies an additional condition, and thus expresses a more remote contingency:—'and *in that case* whether he should take to himself.' See Jelf, *G. G.* 809. 2. G. Hermann (*Opusc.* IV. 90) renders προσθέοιτο 'an *censerent oracula* socios adjungi.' 'Primo interrogat an debeat proficisci, quae ipsius est deliberatio; deinde, si debeat, an oracula id se velint cum sociis facere, idque est ex oraculorum mente dictum.' Compare the use of the opt. with ἵνα, II. 93. 7, n. But a very possible explanation is simply that in the time of Hdt. grammatical rules had not acquired that fixity, which grammars lay down.

§ 2. **ἐς τὰ**] Sc. ἱρά.

ἐχρ. τοῖς χρηστ.] 47. 3, n.

τάδε] Notice the plur. So ὑμῖν below = σοί, ὦ Φοῖβε, καὶ σοί, ὦ Ἀμφιάρεω. The form of words is one which would only be applicable to both oracles, if consulted together.

§ 3. **καταλῦσαι**] By the use of the aorist, all reference to time is

δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.
54 Ἐπεί τε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, 1
ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὖτις ἐς Πυθὼ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ᾽ ἄνδρα δύο στατῆρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν 2
Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ
55 χρόνον. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστη- 1
ριάζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεί τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη 2
οἱ χρᾷ τάδε·

Ἀλλ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ᾽ Ἕρμον
φεύγειν, μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ᾽ αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56 Τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα 1
πάντων ἥσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων· οὐδ᾽ ὦν αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαί

avoided:='foretelling to Croesus his overthrow of a great dominion.' The line was *Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει* (Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 5. 4); rendered by Cicero, 'Croesus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim' (*De Div.* II. 56).

CH. 54. § 1. **Πυθὼ**] 'Used instead of Δελφούς, because this latter follows immediately in another sense.' Stein.

κατ᾽ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον] Cf. 9. 5.

§ 2. **προμαντηίην**] Other people had to draw lots for precedence in consulting the oracle, which was only open on certain days. Aesch. *Eum.* 32, *πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται.*

ἀτελείην] This implies that there was a fee for consultation.

προεδρίην] At the Pythian games.

CH. 55. § 2. **Ἀλλ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἂν**] See 47. 4, note. For *ἡμίονος*, see 91. 5.

ποδαβρὲ] The epithet suits the character of the later Lydians. Cf. *κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι*, 155. 6.

Ἕρμον] See 80. 1.

φεύγειν] 32. 12, n.

CH. 56. § 1. **πολλόν τι**] A very common use of *τι* in Hdt. (*πολλός τις* once in Homer, *Il.* VII. 156). Properly *τις* added to an adj. of quantity or numeral renders it less precise, e.g. *ὀλίγοι τινές*, 'some few,' *τρεῖς τινές*, 'three or so.' But *τι* is used by Hdt. in these phrases as a pure adverb (we have *πολλῷ τι πλεῖστος*, III. 116. 1, instead of *πολλῷ τέῳ* or *πολλόν τι*), and often derives from the context an emphasizing force: 'something much'='very much.' Cf. *οὕτω δή τι, ὀλίγον τι*, 185. 2, 5; *μᾶλλόν τι*, 44. 1; *σμικρόν τι*, II. 7. 3; *ὅσον τι*, I. 185. 4.

οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ] The nom. (instead of the accus.) owing to *αὐτός* above.

κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς 2
ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους.
ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέ-
χοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ.
ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τὸ μὲν 3
Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ
κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πουλυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ 4
Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου
τοῦ Ἕλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὄσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὔλυμπον
χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος
ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδνὸν
καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ 5
ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόν, Δωρικὸν
ἐκλήθη.

57 Ἣν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω 1

§ 2. **τοὺς**] Hdt. often uses the simple relative in indirect questions, just as conversely he uses *ὅστις* for *ὅς* (7. 4). 'The optative with *ἂν* stands in dependent interrogative sentences which would have the same form in *oratio recta*.' Madv. *G. S.* 137.

§ 3. **ταῦτα γὰρ**] Two MSS. omit the whole of this passage down to the end of ch. 68. Possibly we have here one of the later additions made by the author to his work.

τὸ μὲν] This in both cases = *τὸ Ἰωνικόν*. Stein thus sums up the difficulties of the passage:—'If the assertion *τὸ μὲν...ἐξεχώρησε* is understood of the *Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος*, it is inconsistent with the accounts given of the early diffusion of the Pelasgi (57. 2, 4); if it be understood of the *Ἰωνικὸν ἔθνος*, it is inconsistent with the migrations of the Ionians into and out of Attica, (VII. 94; I. 146. 4; 147. 2): if it be restricted to the inhabitants of Attica (cf. VII. 161. 6; Thuc. I. 2. 5) it only applies to them, in so far as they were not of Ionian descent, and does not therefore suit in this connection.' Prob. the third hypothesis is the best. Hdt.'s general assertion will really only apply to that branch of the so-called Ionian or Pelasgic race which remained in Attica.

§ 4. **ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**] 'This connected account can only be viewed as an attempt to arrange and reconcile various legends. The chain of Olympus is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.' Müller's *Dorians*, I. I. I. Hellen acc. to the legend had three sons, Dorus Aeolus and Xuthus, this last the father of Achaeus and Ion.

Μακεδνὸν] 'The Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words, but there does not appear to be any peculiar connection with the Doric dialect. Prob. Hdt. followed some Macedonian accounts.' Müller.

§ 5. **αὖτις**] With *ἐνθεῦτεν*. The idea of repetition belongs only to *μετέβη*, not to *ἐς τὴν Δρ.*

Δρυοπίδα] The district afterwards called Doris, between Oeta and Parnassus.

οὕτως] 'After all this.'

ἐς Πελ.] The migration which is called in legend the return of the Heracleidae. See Grote, *H. G.* I. 82 (I. 130); Curtius, *Hist. Greece* (*E.T.*), I. 109; 162.

ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεών ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν
τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρη-
στῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν
Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι, οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν
Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην· καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην 2
Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο
Ἀθηναίοισι· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ
οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν 3
οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ
πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν Πελασ-

CH. 57. § 1. **ὑπὲρ Τυρσ. Κρηστῶνα**] Niebuhr (*Hist. Rome*, I. 34) proposes to read Κρότῶνα, i.e. Croton or Cortona in Etruria. But Hdt. mentions a district called Crestonia in Thrace (VII. 124. 3; 127. 2; VIII. 116. 1) and Thuc. places Τυρσηνοί in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos (IV. 109. 4). The main argument in Niebuhr's favour is that these Τυρσηνοί were Pelasgi (Thuc. *l. c.*) and ought therefore to have spoken the same language as the people of Creston, which acc. to Hdt. was not the case (below, § 4). This however is not a sufficient reason for altering the reading of the MSS.

οἳ ὅμουροι] i. e. these Pelasgians formerly occupied Thessaliotis (one district of Thessaly) which borders on Histiaeotis, where the Dorians formerly lived (56. 4).

§ 2. **Ἑλλησπόντῳ**] Placia and Scylace were really on the Propontis, but compare the use of Ἑλλήσποντος, IV. 38. 2.

σύνοικοι ἐγ. Ἀθ.] Cf. II. 51. 2; VI. 137; Thuc. IV. 109. 4.

τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε] Changed the name (though they really are Pelasgic).

βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν] Grote rightly points out that these words imply 'a substantive language different from Greek,' *H. G.* II. 46 (II. 354): but the difference need not be greater than that between Latin and Greek, or Anglo-Saxon and English. On the Indo-European origin of the Pelasgi most modern authorities are agreed. The main difficulty in Hdt.'s account is the relation between the Pelasgi and Hellenes. If the latter were originally a branch of the former (cf. 58. 2), it is not easy to see the force of the sharp contrast which he draws between the two. The explanation prob. is (1) that the term Pelasgic is used by Hdt., both (i.) in a wider sense to denote the whole mass of races, some of which afterwards became Hellenic (so the ancient name of Hellas is said to have been Pelasgia, II. 56. 1), and (ii.) in a narrower sense to denote a special tribe (with a distinct language of its own) which resisted Hellenic influence: (2) that Hdt.'s notion of nationality was different from the modern idea. With him it was a religious question, since every nation derived its origin from some divine or semi-divine ἐπώνυμος. Thus by the adoption of the religious rites (and ἐπώνυμοι) of other tribes it was possible for nations really to *change* (cf. μεταβολὴ ἐς Ἕλληνας, § 3) their nationality. For a summary of modern theories on the Pelasgi see Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* Add Curtius I. 30, foll.

§ 3. **τὸ Ἀττ. ἔθν. κ.τ.λ.**] 'The converse conclusion, that the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος could not have been Pelasgic, would have been more correct.' Stein. But see Curtius, I. 124.

γικὸν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν
μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν 4
νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακι-
ηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἠνείκαντο
γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία,
58 τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσσῃ μὲν, 1
ἐπεί τε ἐγένετο, αἰεί κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ κατα-
φαίνεται εἶναι. ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, 2
ἐὸν ἀσθενὲς, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τέο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμεώμενον, αὔξηται
ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλῶν, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων
αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὦν 3
ἐμοί τε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον,
οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι.

CH. 58. § 1. **γλώσσῃ μὲν**] Their *language* (unlike that of the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος) has always been the same (i.e. distinct from that of the Pelasgi) since they became a distinct nation: but still (*μέντοι*) they were originally a branch of the Pelasgi.

ἐπεί τε = ἐξ οὗ.

§ 2. **ἀποσχισθὲν**] So Thuc. *τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι (δοκεῖ μοι) ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη* (Ἑλλὰς), *κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι*, I. 3. 2.

σμικροῦ τέο] 56. 1, n.

τῶν ἐθνέων π.] *πολλὸν* and *τῶν πολλῶν* have been conjectured. Stein reads *τῶν ἐθνέων*, *Πελασγῶν μάλιστα*(!). But the repetition *πλῆθος—πολλῶν* is not unlike Hdt., and the text may stand, if *πολλῶν* be pressed as predicate. Translate: 'though starting from very small beginnings, it has waxed great, and many are the nations into which it has multiplied.' *τῶν ἐθν.* = the well-known tribes which compose it.

καὶ ἄλλων] 'Besides.' Lit. 'other than themselves,' the Ἕλληνες being thus acc. to the Greek idiom regarded as forming part of the class, *βάρβαροι*; see 193, 4, note. For instances of barbarian races which have been incorporated with the Hellenic, see I. 146. 2, 3; VIII. 43. 3; 44. 3; 46. 4.

§ 3. **πρὸς δὴ ὦν**] Bähr adopts Matthiä's rendering: 'accedit—et sic mihi videtur—quod Pelasgica gens, etc.' But *πρός* with *δή* cannot mean 'besides' as in the phrases *πρὸς δέ*, *καὶ πρός*, says Krüger, who suggests *πρὸς ὃ δὴ ὦν*. Stein proposes *πρόσθε δὲ ὦν*, 'earlier at least,' i.e. before their union with the Hellenes: but this involves reading *Πελασγῶν* above. Notwithstanding Krüger's objection (if we have *πρὸς γάρ*, III. 91. 4, why not *πρὸς δή* here?) it is best to follow Matthiä, who also rightly defends *ἐμοί τε*, 'quasi supplendum *καὶ ἄλλῳ*.' So often *ἐμοὶ μέν* without any following *δέ*.

οὐδὲ] Any more than the Hellenic, before it separated from its parent-stock.

ἐὸν βάρβ.] So long as it was barbarian. Hdt. is referring to instances in which Pelasgic tribes became Hellenized. As the Hellenic race made no advance till it had separated from the Pelasgic, so Pelasgic tribes made no advance unless they submitted themselves to the civilizing influence of the now separated Hellenes.

59 Τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν 1
τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισισ-
τράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος
Ἀθηναίων. Ἱπποκράτεϊ γὰρ ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ 2
Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα. θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ,
οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες, καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ
ὕδατος, ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔζεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ 3
Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνε-
βούλευε Ἱπποκράτεϊ, πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα τεκνοποιὸν μὴ
ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὰ οἰκία· εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν
γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν· καὶ εἴ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον
ἀπείπασθαι· οὐκ ὦν, ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος, πεί- 4
θεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν
Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ
τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος
Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου
τοῦ Ἀριστολαΐδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἤγειρε
τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν 5
ὑπερακρίων προστὰς, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἑωυτόν
τε καὶ ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος, ὡς ἐκπε-
φευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἵ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν
ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν· ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς
αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας

CH. 59. § 1. **τὸ μὲν**] See 65. 1.
ὑπὸ Πεισ.] This strictly only belongs to *κατεχόμενον*.

διεσπασμένον] Sc. *ὑπὸ στάσεων*. Pisistratus first made himself despot B.C. 560. He died B.C. 527. According to the 'Parian Chronicle,' (an old inscription which forms part of the Arundel marbles,) the second embassy of Croesus to Delphi (53. 1) took place B.C. 556.

§ 2. **ἰδιώτῃ**] i.e. he was not a *τύραννος*, though his son became one.

ἐπεστεῶτες] *ἐπ-* = over the unlighted fuel.

§ 4. **οὐκ ὦν**] See note, II. 139. 3.

τῶν παράλων κ.τ.λ.] See Grote, *H. G.* II. 300 (III. 127). The Megacles mentioned here was the son-in-law of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, and the father of Cleisthenes the Athenian reformer. VI. 130.

Ἀριστολαΐδεω] *τοῦ* which had prob. dropped out before this word was inserted by Schäfer.

καταφρονήσας] *καταφρ.* lit. = 'to think *at*' (*κατα-* denoting fixity) and so 'to aim at' a thing. Cf. *καταφρονοῦντες ταῦτα* (VIII. 10), which combines this meaning with the more common one of thinking *down upon*.

§ 5. **τῷ λόγῳ**] Cf. 205. 1.

ἐδέετο τ. δ. φ.] Plato mentions *τὸ τυραννικὸν αἴτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον... αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φυλακάς τινας τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα σῶς αὐτοῖς ᾖ ὁ τοῦ δήμου βοηθός*. *Rep.* VIII. 566.

πρὸς Μεγαρέας] 'This *may* pos-

γενομένῃ στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἑλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς 6 ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους, οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ. ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἵποντό οἱ ὄπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ 7 οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας, οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας· ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι
60 ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ 1 πολλὸν χρόνον τὠυτὸ φρονήσαντες οἵ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέους στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν 2 Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὔκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες 3 Πεισίστρατον αὖτις ἐκ νέης ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος 4 ἐπὶ τούτοισι Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὑρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεί γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον, καὶ εὐηθίης ἠλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον,

sibly refer to some later war than that between Athens and Megara which took place before B.C. 594 (see note, 30. 9), i. e. nearly forty years before this movement of Pisistratus to acquire the despotism.' Grote:—who however thinks that this allusion is really a mistake on the part of Hdt., and compares it with Hdt.'s account of the interview between Solon and Croesus. *H. G.* II. 350 (III. 208). Nisaea was the harbour of Megara.

§ 6. **δ. μὲν οὐκ...κ. δέ**] 36. 2, n.

§ 7. **ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστ.**] 'It is said that he once even suffered himself to be cited for trial before the senate of Areopagus.' Aristot. *Pol.* VIII. 12. 2 (Congr.). Thuc. says *ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι* (P. and his sons) *ἀρετὴν* καὶ ξύνεσιν. VI. 54. 5.

ἔνεμε] Put for *νέμων* (19. 4, n.).

CH. 60. § 3. **ἐκ νέης**] Cf. 108. 6.

ἐπὶ τῇ τυρ.] Lit. 'on condition of,' and so = 'for,' like *ἐπὶ μισθῷ*, 160. 4.

§ 4. **ἐπὶ τῇ κ.**] 'To bring about his return.'

εὐηθέστατον] 'Hdt.'s criticism brings to our view the alteration and enlargement which had taken place in the Greek mind during the century between Pisistratus and Pericles.' Grote.

ἐπεί γε...εἰ καὶ] Both clauses depend on the notion of wonder implied in the superlative, 'marvellously simple,' considering (1) the general character of the nation, (2) the particular time and place.

ἀπεκρ. ἐκ παλ...ἐὸν] 'Was from ancient times marked off by being.'

εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι, τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγο-
μένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην, μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. Ἐν τῷ 5
δήμῳ τῷ Παιανιέϊ ἦν γυνή, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ
τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως 6
εὐειδής. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς
ἅρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες, καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε
εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ,
προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἳ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγό-
ρευον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπικόμενοι, λέγοντες τοιάδε· "Ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, 7
δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη
τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρό-
πολιν." Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ 8
ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο, ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον
κατάγει· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι
αὐτὴν τὴν θεόν, προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐδέκοντο
τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

61 Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ 1
Πεισίστρατος, κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα
γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέους τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ 2
παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων, καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων
εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς
νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα, ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ 3
μέν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή· μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ,
εἴτε καὶ οὔ, φράζει τῇ ἑωυτῆς μητρί· ἡ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. τὸν δὲ 4

§ 5. **τρεῖς δακτύλους**] Hdt.'s smaller measures of length are the *δάκτυλος* (=¾ in.); *παλαιστή* (only in adjectival forms:=4 *δακτ.*, 3 in.); *σπιθαμή* (=12 *δακτ.*, 9 in.); *ποῦς* (=16 *δακτ.*, 12 in.); *πυγών* (=20 *δακτ.*, 15 in.); *πῆχυς* (=24 *δακτ.*, 18 in.); *ὀργυιή* (=96 *δακτ.*, 6 feet). In Hom. we have the *δῶρον* (=*παλαιστή*), the *ποῦς*, the *πυγών* (all in adj. forms), and the *ὀργυιά*.

§ 6. **οἷόν τι**] The order is *οἷον τι ἔχουσα ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον* (*ἔχουσα*) *φανέεσθαι*.

§ 8. **δήμους**] 'The village communities' opposed to *οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ*. Cf. 62. 2. For an account of them, see Grote, *H. G.* II. 273 (III. 85).

ἄνθρωπον] Used instead of *γυναῖκα*, to heighten the contrast with *θεόν*. Tr. 'their fellow-mortal.'

Ch. 61. § 2. **οἷα**] *οἷα* like *ἅτε* and *ὥστε* (8. 2, n.) implies that the gen. states the reason, *ὡς* on the other hand (e.g. 124. 7) represents the action of the participle as the view of some particular person. The full phrase would be *τοιαῦτα ποιέων οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ποιέειν τινά, κ.τ.λ.*

ἐναγέων] See v. 70, 71; Thuc. I. 126. The Megacles who incurred the curse would seem to have been the grandfather of the Megacles mentioned here.

δεινόν τι ἔσχε, ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου. ὀργῇ δὲ, ὡς εἶχε, καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτῃσι. μα- 5
θὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισί. Ἱππίεω δὲ γνώμην νικήσαν- 6
τος, ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἤγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων, αἵ τινές σφι προηδέατό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, 7
χρόνος διέφυ, καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον. καὶ 8
γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντὴς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα

62 καὶ ἄνδρας. Ἐξ Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὁρμηθέντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτεος 1
ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω. καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἵ τε 2
ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο, ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, οἷσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ 3
ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ 4
ἤισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὠυτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρὸν, καὶ ἀντία

§ 4. **δεινόν τι**] 'He was seized with indignation.' Properly *δεινόν τι* (='a monstrous thing') describes the language which he would apply to the insult. Cf. *δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε*, 'a fearful thought came over them,' VI. 138. 5. With the use of *ἔσχε*, compare the instances quoted II. 33. 2, n.

§ 5. **ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ**] 66. 2, n.

§ 6. **δωτίνας**] His goods in Attica were confiscated, VI. 138. 2.

προηδέατο] Cf. *εὐεργέτης, ᾧ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι*, III. 140. 5.

§ 7. **χρόνος διέφυ, καὶ**] Instead of *χρόνου διελθόντος*. See II. 93. 8, n.

CH. 62. § 1. **διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτ.**] A mixture of *διὰ ἕνδεκα ἐτέων* (cf. II. 73. 1) and *ἐν ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει*. The former would mean 'after eleven,' the latter 'after ten years.' But the frequency of the Greek idiom which uses ordinal numbers in such a way that both ends of the series have to be counted (cf. *πεμπτήν*, 13. 5), leaves no doubt that here the meaning is 'after an interval of ten years.'

§ 4. **ἐς τὠυτὸ**] *τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι*.

Παλληνίδος] i. e. at Pallene: see *Dict. Geogr. Attica*, 32.

ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται 5
Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν, χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὅς
οἱ προσιὼν χρᾷ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ, τάδε λέγων·

> Ἔρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται·
> θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.

63 Ὁ μὲν δή οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾷ τάδε· Πεισίστρατος δὲ, συλ- 1
λαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν, ἐπῆγε
τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τε- 2
τραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετε-
ξέτεροι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ
ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι.
φευγόντων δὲ τούτων, βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισί- 3
στρατος ἐπιτεχνᾶται, ὅκως μήτε ἁλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν. ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους
προέπεμπε· οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἔλεγον 4
τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες,
64 καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν 1

ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα] In many passages where this phrase is used immediately before an engagement (e.g. v. 74, 3) it seems to mean no more than 'armati consistebant,' i.e. kept their line with grounded arms. See Grote IV. 242 (VI. 153). But elsewhere (clearly here) it denotes *piling arms* as a preliminary to bivouacking. See IX. 52. 3, where it is used as equivalent to *στρατοπεδεύεσθαι*. So *τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειτο*, of the Spartans stationed in front of the rampart at Thermopylae (VII. 208. 3).

§ 5. **θείῃ πομπῇ χρ.** = *ἐνθεάζων* below. Cf. *θείῃ τύχῃ*, 126. 7.

Ἀκαρνὰν] Plato (*Theages*, 124. D) calls Amphilytus *τὸν ἡμεδαπόν*, which has led Valckenär to suggest *Ἀχαρνεύς* as the true reading. But Bähr is right in retaining *Ἀκαρνάν*. We hear of other soothsayers from Acarnania, and neighbouring districts (VII. 221. 1; IX. 38), and the form Amphilytus is illustrated by the fact that Thuc. mentions an Acarnanian named Theolytus, II. 102. 2. (Schw.)

χρησμολόγος] Used of an interpreter and arranger of oracles VII. 6. 4. Cf. VII. 142. 7.

Ἔρριπται δ'] If we are to attempt to explain the particle *δ'*, its occurrence would seem to imply that the prophecy was an adaptation and not original (so Stein). But see 47. 4, note. With the metaphor of *δίκτυον*, cf. *κύρτῃ*, 191. 8; *ἐσαγήνευον*, VI. 31. 2.

CH. 63. § 2. **δὴ**] 'Scilicet:' in colloquial English, 'only fancy that.'

μετεξέτεροι] Subdivided into *οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ*.

§ 3. **μήτε...τε**] 'Nec (non solum non)—et (sed etiam).' Bähr. Cf. 99. 2; 119. 6; 160. 6.

τοὺς παῖδας] His sons were Hippias, Hipparchus and Thessalus (Thuc. I. 20. 3).

§ 4. **ἕκαστος**] Probably right, though most recent editors have corrected to *ἕκαστον*. The passage is

'Αθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν 'Αθήνας,
ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισί τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρη-
μάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος
ποταμοῦ συνιόντων· ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων 'Αθη- 2
ναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν, καὶ καταστή-
σας ἐς Νάξον· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο
πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι· πρός γε ἔτι τούτοισι, τὴν
νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ' 3
ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς
ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου.
καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε 'Αθηναίων· 'Αθηναίων δὲ
οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ 'Αλκμαι-
ωνίδεω ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκηΐης.

65 Τοὺς μέν νυν 'Αθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον 1
ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα· τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ
κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας, καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ

a strong instance of that mixture of *oratio obliqua* and *oratio recta*, which is so common in narratives of past events, e.g. *ἐκέλευσε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται* (for *βούλοιντο*, the actual word used being *βούλεσθε*) I. 163. 3. So here *ἕκαστος* is retained, notwithstanding *ἀπιέναι*. With this passage may be compared Thuc. V. 50. 1, *ἠξίουν (οἱ 'Ηλεῖοι) Λέπρεον μὲν μὴ ἀποδοῦναι (τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους), εἰ μὴ βούλονται· ἀναβάντες δὲ* (three MSS. *ἀναβάντας*) *ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀπομόσαι κ.τ.λ.* VII. 48. 1, (*ὁ Νικίας οὐκ ἐβούλετο*) *ἐμφανῶς σφᾶς ψηφιζομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις καταγγέλτους γίγνεσθαι· λαθεῖν γὰρ ἄν, ὁπότε βούλοιντο, τοῦτο ποιοῦντες πολλῷ ἧσσον.* Hom. *Il.* XIX. 257, *ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα...μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κούρῃ Βρισηΐδι χεῖρ' ἐπενεῖκαι, | οὔτ' εὐνῆς πρόφασιν κεχρημένος οὔτε τευ ἄλλου.*

CH. 64. § 1. **τὸ τρίτον σχὼν**] 'The exact place of the years of exile in the reign of Pisistratus has been differently determined by the conjectures of chronologers.' Grote.

τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ] Grote suggests that *τῶν μέν* refers to *χρημάτων* and *τῶν δέ* to *ἐπικούροισι*, but the natural sense of the passage is that P. had property both in Attica and Thrace. There is nothing so strange in the fact that this is the only notice which we find of his possessions on the Strymon.

αὐτόθεν] The sources of his revenues in Attica were partly the silver mines at Laurium (VII. 144. 1), partly the tax of five per cent. (*εἰκοστήν*) which he imposed. Thuc. VI. 54. 5.

§ 2. **Δῆλον καθήρας**] Thuc. (III. 104) mentions this in very similar words (*οὐχ ἅπασαν ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου*).

ἐκ τῶν λογίων] The Athenians were also said to have carried out their later purification (B.C. 426) in obedience to an oracle, but Thuc. (l. c.) rather implies that the oracle was invented for the occasion (*κατὰ χρησμὸν δή τινα*).

CH. 65. § 1. **τῷ πολέμῳ**] The article assumes that the war is already known, and thus serves to introduce the story more naturally. Cf. II. 126. 3.

κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος 2
καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυ-
χέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέ-
πταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν 3
σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων, κατά τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ
ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυ- 4
κούργου, τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς, ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελ-
φοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήιε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε·

Ἥκεις, ὦ Λυκόοργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν, 5
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.
διζῶ ἤ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον.
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε.

Οἱ μὲν δή τινες πρὸς τούτοισι λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν 6
Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτῃσι. ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτεω, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρ-

§ 2. **ἐπὶ γὰρ Λ. κ.τ.λ.**] About 600 B.C. Leon was the father of Anaxandridas and the grandfather of Leonidas: Hegesikles (Dor. *Ἀγασικλέης*) the father of Ariston (67. 1).

τοὺς ἄλλους π.] 'Perhaps this refers to the wars for the possession of Thyrea, ch. 82.' St. Probably also to the Messenian wars.

§ 3. **καὶ κακον.**] Lat. *vel.* 117. 1, n.

κατά τε σφέας αὐτοὺς] This is not an instance of the misplacement of *τε*. Hdt. means that they were *κακονομώτατοι* in two respects, partly in their domestic, partly in their foreign relations: but in the second clause, instead of *καὶ πρὸς ξείνους*, he has written *καὶ ξειν. ἀπρόσμικτοι*, in order to make his meaning clearer, and has thus disturbed the grammatical construction.

ξείνοισι] ξ. was the Spartan term for *βάρβαροι* (IX. 11. 4; 55. 3), but here it has a wider meaning.

εὐνομίην] Thuc. I. 18. 1, *ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ εὐνομήθη καὶ ἀεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν.*

§ 5. **ἤ σε θεὸν**] *ἤ* = Att. *εἰ* or *πότερον*. Hom. *Od.* VI. 141, *ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεὺς | ἢ γούνων λίσσοιτο λαβὼν εὐώπιδα κούρην, | ἢ αὔτως ἐπέεσσιν ἀπόσταδα μειλιχίοισιν.* Prob. the question is really direct: 'I doubt, shall I—or shall I?'

§ 6. **ἐπιτρ. Λεωβώτεω**] 'This would place Lycurgus about B.C. 996.' Grote. On the other hand Thuc. (I. 18), without mentioning Lycurgus by name, places the origin of the Spartan constitution rather more than 400 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war, i. e. about 820 B.C. Again all other writers represent Lycurgus as belonging to the Proclid line of kings, whereas Labotas was an Eurysthenid. 'We have absolutely no account whatever of Lycurgus as an individual person.' Müll. *Dor.* I. 7. 6.

ἐκ Κρήτης] Aristot. *Pol.* II. 10. 1, *καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἡ τῶν Λακώνων.* See however *Dict. Geogr. Creta.*

τιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε
τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ
παραβαίνειν. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ 7
τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρός τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ
66 γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος. Οὕτω· μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐ- 1
νομήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἱσάμενοι,
σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθεϊ
οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν.
καὶ δή σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονή- 2
σαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελ-
φοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾷ τάδε·

Ἀρκαδίην μ᾽ αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ᾽ αἰτεῖς· οὔ τοι δώσω. 3
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
οἵ σ᾽ ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὔ τι μεγαίρω·
δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι,
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

ἀγαγέσθαι] Used, as if λέγουσι had preceded instead of ὡς λέγ. Cf. II. 125. 5. ταῦτα refers to κόσμον.

§ 7. **ἐνωμοτίας**] See Thuc. V. 68. *Dict. Ant. Exercitus.*

τριηκάδας] *Dict. Ant. Tribus.*

ἐφόρους] One of the very rare exceptions to the non-aspiration of compounded prepositions in Ionic. Cf. ἀφίξει, 69. 3. In illustration of this passage, read Grote, *H. G.* Part II. ch. 6; Curtius, Bk. II. ch. I.

CH. 66. § I. **οἷα δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] i.e. οἷα ἐν χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ τε (οὔσῃ) καὶ ἀνδρῶν πλήθεϊ οὐκ ὀλίγων. Cf. μεγάθεϊ μεγάλους, 51. I. Bähr unnecessarily supplies ἐν with πλήθεϊ.

ἀνά τε ἔδρ.] Hom. *Il.* XVIII. 56, ὁ δ᾽ ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος (of Achilles). In Hdt. the attachment of preposition to verb is less close than in later writers, the prep. still partially retaining its original adverbial force (II. 60. 2, n.). Cf. ἀπ᾽ ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, 194. 6; κατά με ἐφάρμαξας, II. 181. 4; μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, VII. 12. 2. See also II. 141. 5.

§ 2. **ἐπὶ**] 'Touching the conquest of:' lit. 'with a view to,' the object of the intention (here a hostile one) being regarded as the foundation of the action. So συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοί, VII. 235. 6; θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, IX. 10. 4.

§ 3. **βαλανηφάγοι**] An allusion to the supposed antiquity of the Arcadian race (αὐτόχθονες, VIII. 73. 1). Cf. προσέληνοι. Ov. *Fast.* I. 469, 'Orta prior Luna (de se si creditur ipso) A magno tellus Arcade nomen habet.'

ὀρχήσασθαι] Acc. to Stein, 'Tegea which lay in a plain shut in all round by hills (67. 4) is on that account compared to an ὀρχήστρα, just as Epaminondas called the Boeotian plain ὀρχήστρα πολέμου (Plut. *Mor.* 193).' Müller's explanation is still more elaborate (*Dor.* I. 7. 12):—'the ambiguity in ὀρχήσασθαι is that it may be derived from ὄρχος,' the word thus referring to the cultivation of the vineyards by the Lac. captives (§ 5). More probably, as in ποσσίκροτον there is an allusion to the clanking of the fetters, so ὀρχ. simply refers to the ungainly movements of the fettered captives.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων 4
μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο· οἱ δέ, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγε-
ήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξαν-
δραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἑσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, 5
ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐ-
τοί, καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων
ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἔτι καὶ 6
ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθη-
ναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς 1
ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον
χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ
ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ 2
ἑσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελ-
φοὺς, ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ
πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὰ 3
Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους, ὡς δὲ ἀν-
ευρεῖν οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγινέατο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστεω, ἔπεμπον
αὖτις τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο ὁ
Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ 4
Πυθίη τάδε·

§ 4. **οἱ δὲ**] See 107. 4, n.

δὴ] Ironical: = 'they were quite sure of that.' Cf. 63. 2; II. 93. 7.

§ 5. **ἐφέροντο**] 'Which they were all the while bringing for themselves' (81. 2).

σχοίνῳ] i.e. the rope fastening the gang together, which lay stretched along the ground like a measuring-tape in the intervals between man and man.

§ 6. **σῶαι ἐν Τ.**] Tegea still retained its independence (IX. 37. 6) notwithstanding its defeats (68. 7).

Ἀλέης] It is uncertain whether this title is connected with ἀλέη, 'escape,' or ἀλέη, 'warmth.'

CH. 67. § 1. **τὴν Ἀναξ.**] The exact dates of the accession and death of both Anaxandridas and Ariston are unknown. This passage proves that they were both reigning in B.C. 560, and apparently neither could have been long king. Clinton, *F. H.* II. 207.

§ 3. **Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγ.**] Stein thinks that there is a confusion here between the son of Agamemnon and an old *Arcadian* hero Ὀρέσθης, from whom was named the district of Oresthasium, W. of Tegea (ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ, IX. 11. 4; ἐς Ὀρέστειον, Thuc. V. 64. 3). More probably however the removal of the relics really implied the recognition of the Heracleidae as the successors of Agamemnon. See Curtius I. 229.

τὴν ἐς θεὸν] Supply πομπήν or ὁδόν (109. 1, note). If the former, ἐπειρησομένους is an instance of *constructio ad sensum:* cf. 16. 3; 151. 2; II. 90. 1.

Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύο κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται.
ἔνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα·
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος, Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσσῃ.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπεῖχον τῆς 5 ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης, τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ 6 ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἑκάστου· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ
68 διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ. Τούτων ὦν τῶν 1 ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ, καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. ἐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήϊον, ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυ-

§ 4. **Ἔστι...ἔνθ' Ἀγ.**] See 175. 1, n.

τις] Ironical: 'a certain Tegea:' =you seem not to know of it. *λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ* and *κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα* are Homeric (*Od.* VII. 123; *Il.* III. 243).

τύπος ἀντίτυπος] Virtually=*τύπος τε καὶ ἀντίτυπος* (68. 4), 'stroke and stroke in return.' The *ἀντίτυπος* is the blow struck by the anvil (simultaneously with the hammer-stroke) on the piece of iron being wrought.

ἐπιτάρροθος] Bähr translates 'conqueror.' But in Homer the word always means 'helper,' and accordingly Stein explains it to mean 'patron' here:—'by the removal of the protecting hero the patronage of the country would pass to Sparta.' But this (though apparently sanctioned by Curtius) seems rather forced. Probably the true explanation is to be found in the fact that Homer always uses the dat. (not the gen.) of *the person helped*, the gen. denoting *the thing in which* the help is given, e.g. (*θεοὶ*) ὅσοι Δαναοῖσι μάχης ἐπιτάρροθοι ἦσαν, *Il.* XII. 180. So here *ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσσῃ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι* (*σύ* denoting the chief of the *θεόπροποι*) *Τεγέης*,=*τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας μάχης*, 'in the matter of Tegea.'

§ 5. **καὶ ταῦτα**] Even after this they were no nearer.

ἐς οὗ] Used (as well as *ἐς ὅ*) several times by Hdt., and to be explained either simply on the ground that the ear was accustomed to the use of the genitive in this signification, e.g. *ἕως οὗ, ἄχρις οὗ* (cf. 35. 5, n.), or possibly as an instance of attraction from *μεχρὶ τούτου, ἐς ὅ*. Cf. *ἐς οὗ ἀποθάνωσι...μεχρὶ τούτου*, III. 31. 3. Bredow thinks that *ἐς ὅ* should be always read.

Σπαρτιητέων] Used in its strict sense:=*ἀστῶν* below.

§ 6. **ἐξιόντες...οἱ πρ.**] 'The oldest of them, that is, as they pass out of the order of the knights, five each year.' Stein thinks that *ἀστῶν* is superfluous, and needlessly conjectures *τῶν ἐξιόντων*. For *ἐκ*, see note on *ἐς*, 42. 1.

CH. 68. § 1. **ἐπιμιξίης**] i.e. there was a truce.

χαλκήϊον...χαλκεὺς] 'Prior aeris

νόμενον· καὶ ἐν θώυματι ἦν, ὁρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθών δέ 2
μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωυμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου·
"Ἦ κου ἄν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα
ἂν ἐθώυμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶυμα ποιεύμενος
τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ 3
φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ ἑπταπήχεϊ· ὑπὸ
δὲ ἀπιστίης, μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους
τῶν νῦν, ἀνῷξα αὐτήν, καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκεϊ ἴσον ἐόντα
τῇ σορῷ. μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω." Ὁ μὲν δή οἱ 4
ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπεε· ὁ δέ, ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα, συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε
συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὁρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους
εὕρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφύραν τόν τε τύπον
καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα
ἐπὶ πήματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ
ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. Συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα 5
καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ
πρῆγμα. οἱ δέ, ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην,
ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δέ, ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην, καὶ φράζων τὴν ἑωυ- 6
τοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα, ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη. ἀνορύξας

erat quam ferri cognitus usus,' and the old names were long retained and applied to the working of the more recent metal. *σιδηρεύς* is used by Xenophon and *σιδηρεῖον* by Aristotle.

ἐν θώ. ἦν] This is curious; because working in iron, though not very common, was known in Homer's time. See *Od.* IX. 391—3, where *χαλκεύς* and *σίδηρος* are combined as here. Possibly *ἐξελαυνόμενον* denotes some peculiar process.

§ 2. **μαθών**] See 80. 7, n.

ὅκου] *Quandoquidem*. II. 125. 6.

θῶυμα] This may be taken as predicate, or we may say that *θ. ποιεύμενος* has the construction of *θωυμάζων* (160. 6, n.).

§ 3. **ἑπταπήχεϊ**] Orestes would thus have been smaller than Perseus (II. 91. 4), and than Otus and Ephialtes (Hom. *Od.* XI. 308). Compare the Homeric phrase *οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι.*

μὴ μὲν] II. 118. 3, n.

§ 4. **τὸν Ὀρέστεα**] 'The (long-sought) Orestes.' So *τοὺς ἀνέμους* below, — those mentioned by the oracle. The article thus stands with the predicate, with which too the copula is constructed (*ἐόντας* for *ἐούσας*).

ἐπὶ κακῷ] 'To work ill for man.'

§ 5. **ἐκ λόγου πλ.**] 'On a feigned plea.' Both the trial and the banishment were a story made up for him to tell in Tegea.

§ 6. **ἐμισθοῦτο**] Strictly the *tempus imperfectum*: 'tried to hire.' So *ὠνέοντο*, 69. 4; *ἐμνᾶτο*, 205. 1.

παρ' οὐκ ἐκδ.] i.e. *παρὰ τούτου· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐξεδίδου.* Cf. 26. 1.

δὲ τὸν τάφον, καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας, οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρῴατο ἀλλήλων, 7
πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69 Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος, ἔπεμπε 1
ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας, καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες
ἔλεγον· "Ἔπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων 2
ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων τάδε· Ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι, φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος
ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι' 3
ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον, ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀφίξει τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ ξυμμαχίης· καὶ γάρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροί-
σου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαι- 4
μόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο, τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἵδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δέ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

§ 7. **ὅκως**] As ὡς=ὅτε, so ὅκως in Hdt. often=ὁπότε.

πειρῴατο] 'Proved one another' (in battle). Hom. *Il.* XXI. 580, οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρὶν πειρήσαιτ' Ἀχιλῆος. The MSS. have ἐπειρώατο, which some edd. alter into ἐπιπειρῴατο (nowhere else used). Others take it as an irregular imperf. form.

ἡ πολλὴ] Cf. 24. 1. Krüg. says that the statement is an exaggeration, and that ἡ should probably be omitted. But look at the map.

CH. 69. § 1. **ἐντειλάμενός τε**] Coupled to δεησομένους. So πλήσαντες...καὶ...χωρέοντα, 70. 2.

§ 2. **τὸν Ἕλληνα**] Here of the nation, and therefore not parallel to τὸν Κόλχον (2. 4, n.). Cf. τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, Thuc. VI. 78. 2.

ὦν] Inserted owing to the parenthesis: cf. 144. 1.

ἄνευ τε δ. κ. ἀ.] Prob. a regular formula in treaties:=*nullo dolo malo* (VIII. 140. 6). Cf. σπονδὰς ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς, Thuc. VI. 47. 1.

§ 3. **καὶ γὰρ**] This gives one reason for ἐποιήσαντο κ.τ.λ. The Lacedaemonians were ordinarily ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι (65. 3; Thuc. II. 37. 3).

εὐεργ. εἶχον] 'Croesus even before had done them certain kind offices, for which they were beholden to him.'

§ 4. **Ἀπόλλωνος**] Join Ἀπ. with ἄγαλμα. Apollo was preeminently the *Dorian* deity. The scarcity of gold in early times in Greece is

70 Τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέ- 1
ξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἱρέετο
φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἑτοῖμοι ἐπαγγείλαντι, 2
τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον, ζωδίων τε ἔξωθεν
πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος, καὶ μεγάθεϊ τριηκοσίους ἀμφο-
ρέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ.
οὗτος ὁ κρητὴρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας 3
λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεί τε
ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητὴρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην,
πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν, νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώ-
σαντες. αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεί τε ὑστέρησαν οἱ 4
ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ
Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἡλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν
Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναί μιν ἐς τὸ
Ἡραῖον· τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν, ἀπικόμενοι
ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μέν νυν
τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε.

71 Κροῖσος δὲ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηΐην 1
ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν
Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύ- 2
εσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν

illustrated by Soph. *Ant.* 1037, *ἐμπολᾶτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων | ἤλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν | χρυσόν*. The possession of gold and silver money at Sparta was forbidden by law.

ὠνεομένοισι] *Empturientibus.*

CH. 70. § 2. **τοῦτο μὲν**] Cf. 30. 8.

αὐτοὶ] 'They themselves,' in opposition to their present.

ζωδίων] This, like *ζῶα*, 203. 3; II. 4. 5 (cf. *ζῶα γραψάμενος*, IV. 88. 2), denotes figures of any kind (Schw.). The diminutive, because the figures were not full size.

§ 3. **διφασίας**] This in meaning goes closely with *λεγομένας*. There were not two causes, but two stories of the cause. Cf. *αἰτίαι διφάσιαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου*, III. 122. 1.

κατὰ τὴν Σ.] 'Off (cf. 76. 1) the land of Samos,' *Σαμίην* denoting not the island but the territory belonging to the city of Samos. This occurrence was afterwards made a pretext for the Spartan expedition against Samos, III. 47. 2.

§ 4. **τὸ Ἡραῖον**] The famous temple at Samos.

ἂν λέγοιεν] Of a past event: cf. 2. 2, n. Spartan cupidity became proverbial. Aristotle says that the legislator at Sparta *τὴν μὲν πόλιν πεποίηκεν ἀχρήματον, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας φιλοχρημάτους*. *Pol.* II. 9. 37.

CH. 71. § 1. **τοῦ χρησμοῦ**] The one given at 53. 3.

§ 2. **τῶν τις Λ.**] A common collocation in Hdt. (1. 4, n.). So in plur. *τῶν τινὲς Φοινίκων*, VIII. 90. 1. In Attic this only occurs where the article has an epithet joined to it, e.g. *τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων*.

εἶναι σοφὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὔνομα
ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε (οὔνομά οἱ ἦν
Σάνδανις)· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι 3
παρασκευάζεαι, οἳ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν
ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι· σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι,
ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχείην· πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἴνῳ
διαχρέονται, ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι· οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν,
οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας 4
ἀπαιρήσεαι, τοῖσί γε μή ἐστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δὲ, ἢν νικηθῇς,
μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις. γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέ-
ρων ἀγαθῶν, περιέξονται, οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μέν 5
νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσῃσι
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς." Ταῦτα λέγων, οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν
Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν
72 οὔτε ἁβρὸν, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ 1
Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι οὐνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι, τὸ

καὶ τὸ κάρτα] See 117. 1, n. The phrase goes with *ἔχων*, not with *οὔνομα*.

οὔνομα ... οὔνομα] In different senses (II. 52. 4, n.).

§ 3. **σκυτίνας κ.τ.λ.**] They afterwards adopted the Median dress (135. 1).

οὐκ οἴνῳ] Contrast 133. 4.

οὐ σῦκα δὲ] 'No figs have they.' Stein adds in explanation 'the simplest and cheapest dessert.' More prob. however figs are mentioned *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. 'The fig is the only fruit to which Homer allows sweetness.' Notice the epithets given to the different trees in the garden of Alcinous, *Od.* VII. 115 foll.

τρώγειν] II. 37. 9, n.

§ 4. **τοῖσί γε μὴ**] = *εἴ γέ σφι μή*, 'a relative clause in which the causal signification grazes on the hypothetical' Ab.

μάθε] Not 'learn from me,' but 'look round and see for yourself.' Cf. 80. 7, n. There is therefore no need to assume (as Stein does) a *lacuna* after *ἀποβαλέεις*.

§ 5. **ἐγὼ μὲν**] The respect of the speaker leads him to suppress the *σὺ δέ*, which would naturally follow (St.).

οὐκ ἔπειθε] The introduction of Sandanis heightens the moral. He plays the same part that Artabanus plays in the story of Xerxes (VII. 10). The doomed must always be warned and the warning must always be in vain.

Πέρσῃσι γὰρ] *γάρ* refers to the whole story: =(I tell the tale) for. The strong contrast between Persians past and Persians present is of course in Hdt.'s thoughts.

CH. 72. § 1. **ὑπὸ Ἑλλ.**] The Persian name being Cappadocians (VII. 72. 3). 'In the Persian inscriptions the name is *Katapatuka*.' St. The Cappadocians are mentioned here because of *ἐς Καππ.*, 71. 1.

Σύριοι] This is the reading of all the MSS. (Bähr), though at 6. 1 we have the form *Σύροι* used of the same nation. Stein thinks that Hdt. used *Σύροι* to denote the inhabitants of Palestine (e.g. II. 12. 2; 30. 4), and *Σύριοι* of the Cappadocians. But to carry out this rule, he has constantly to alter the readings of the MSS.

μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι, Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ
Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὖρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς 2
Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου οὔρεος διὰ
Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ
τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους, καὶ ῥέων
ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας
ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἅλυς ποτα- 3
μὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἁπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

§ 2. **ὁ γὰρ οὖρος**] They were subject to the Medes (for they lived to the east of the Halys), *for* the H. was the boundary: *ὁ οὔρ.*, 'the (recognized) boundary,' Kr.

διὰ Κιλ...Καππ.] The later provinces of Cilicia and Cappadocia both lay farther south than this. But in early times these mountain-tribes would have had no definite frontier-lines: cf. II. 104. 6.

Ματιηνοὺς] 189. 1, n.

ἄνω] Here, and at 142. 2, this is usually explained to mean 'northwards.' But (1) how could this meaning have arisen in Hdt.'s time? The notion that the north is higher than the south ('hic vertex nobis semper sublimis,' Virg. *Georg.* I. 242) does not appear in his writings:—he says that nothing is known about the earth's northern limits (IV. 45. 1; V. 9. 1). Nor do we even know that the early Greek maps resembled our modern ones in having the north at the top. (2) As applied to the points of the compass, *ἄνω* and similar words cannot have a consistent meaning assigned to them. Thus where Priam's kingdom is described as *ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω...ἐντὸς ἐέργει | καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε* (Hom. *Il.* XXIV. 544) *ἄνω* must mean 'southwards' and *καθύπερθε* 'northwards:' and *καθύπερθε Χίοιο* (*Od.* III. 170) must mean 'to the west of Chios,' lit. 'further out to sea:' cf. *ἀνωτέρω* (*Σάμου*) *τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης*, Hdt. VIII. 130. 4. In the present passage, either *ἄνω* has its usual meaning of 'inland,' i.e. *away from the Mediterranean* (Hdt.'s sea, *τήνδε τὴν θ.*), though properly the course of any river must be *κάτω*, whether it flow towards or away from the M.; or else it simply = 'on beyond' (*παραμειψάμενος τούτους*), like *ἀνωτέρω*, 190. 4. Probably the former explanation is the true one. For other instances of Hdt.'s use of relative terms from a Mediterranean point of view see notes I. 6. 1; II. 8. 1; 24. 2; 33. 5.

ἔνθεν μὲν] 'On this side,' i.e. on the right.

§ 3. **τῆς Ἀ. τὰ κάτω** = *τὰ ἐντὸς Ἅλυος* (6. 1).

αὐχὴν οὗτος] *οὗτ.* is put for *ταῦτα* owing to the attraction of *αὐχήν*. 'These parts (through which the H. flows) are a neck of the whole of this country (viz. both upper and lower Asia).' Thus the western part of Asia Minor is the head, Asia proper is the body, and the eastern part of Asia Minor, where it is narrowest, forms the neck.

πέντε] Hdt. considerably underestimates, the real distance being about 270 miles. A day's journey is reckoned at 200 stades, = 23 miles (IV. 101. 3), and assuming 30 miles a day for the *εὔζωνος ἀνήρ* (Rennell) the journey would take nine days.

73 Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε 1
εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ
μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος
ἐὼν, καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυ- 2
άγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν, Μήδων
δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γε-
νόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη
ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα, ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν. ἐτυ- 3
ράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω
τοῦ Δηϊόκεω, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε
εὖ, ὡς ἐόντας ἱκέτας, ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεόμενος αὐ-
τοὺς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθέειν καὶ
τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτε- 4
όντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην, καὶ αἰεί τι φερόντων, καί
κοτε συνήνεικε ἑλεῖν σφέας μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς
κεινῇσι χερσὶ, ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἦν γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος)

Cf. 104. 1, n. Dahlmann on this passage refers to VI. 106. 1 (cf. VI. 120. 1), where Phidippides is said to have gone from Athens to Sparta (117 miles) within two days. But the present tense (ἀναισιμοῦνται) implies that the estimate here is a general one, and not a reference to 'an experiment which was made once or twice' (Dahlm. *Life of Hdt. E. T.* p. 73).

CH. 73. § 2. **καταστρ. εἶχε**] This implies that A. was still alive (27. 4, n.). He seems to have lived for some time in captivity (130. 3).

νομάδων] See IV. 19.

ἀνδρῶν] Bähr and others take this in apposition with *Σκυθέων τῶν νομ.*, like *ἀνὴρ αὐλητής, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*. But the order of the words is against this. Prob. owing to the frequency with which *ἀνδρῶν* is added after nouns of multitude (*στρατὸν ἀνδρ.*, 53. 1; *πόλιν ἀνδρ.*, VII. 8. 13) *εἴλη ἀνδρ.* here is regarded as a single noun and takes the partitive genitive.

§ 3. **ἐτυράννευε**] 6. 1, n.

Κυαξ. ὁ Φρ.] See chs. 96—106.

περὶ πολλοῦ] Stronger than *πολλοῦ*: lit. = 'above much,' *περί* being equivalent to *prae*, as in the Homeric *περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων*. So *περὶ οὐδένος* in the orators, 'at less than nothing.'

τόξων] Cf. IV. 132. 3.

§ 4. **καί κοτε**] 'Once also,' i.e. besides the many occasions on which they had brought back something.

κεινῇσι] Att. *κεναῖς*.

διέδεξε] Probably impersonal (II. 134. 4). Cf. *παρέξει*, 9. 5.

ὀργὴν ἄκρος] Cf. *ὀργὴν χαλεπῷ*, III. 131. 1. Aristotle describes the *ἀκρόχολοι* ('the touchy') as *ὑπερβολῇ ὀξεῖς καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ὀργίλοι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντι* (*Eth.* IV. 5. 9). The majority of MSS. however read *ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος*, which might fairly mean 'not eminent in point of temper:' cf. *ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος*, V. 124. 1; *Εὐρώπη ἀρετὴν ἄκρη*, VII. 5. 5. And it is doubtful whether the omission of the negative can be justified by the analogy of *ἀκρόχολος*, which is usually written *ἀκράχολος*, and is perhaps a shortened form of *ἀκρατόχολος*. On the whole therefore it seems rather more prob. that the copyists have omitted *οὐκ*, than that they have inserted it.

τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείῃ. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξά- 5
ρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβου-
λεύσαντο τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἕνα κατα-
κόψαι· σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία
σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρεϊ δοῦναι φέροντες, ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν· δόν-
τες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυ-
άττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης 6
καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο·
καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἱκέται ἐγένοντο.
74 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας 1
ἐξαιτέοντι Κυαξάρεϊ) πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μή-
δοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε· ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ
Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς
Μήδους· ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο. διαφέ- 2
ρουσι δέ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτεϊ συμβο-
λῆς γενομένης, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν
ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύ- 3
την τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε
ἔσεσθαι, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ
ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεί τε 4

CH. 74. § 1. **πόλεμος**] 'The passage of such nomadic hordes from one government in the East to another is even down to the present day a frequent cause of dispute between the different governments.' Grote.

ἐν δὲ καὶ] We should rather have expected *πρὸς δέ* or *μετὰ δέ*, since the reference seems to be to the battle described below, which took place in the *sixth* year.

νυκτομ. τινὰ] 'A sort of night-battle,' i.e. not a real one, *τινά* implying that the expression is merely metaphorical. Cf. *ἐξαιρετόν τι μεταίχμιον*, VIII. 140. 10.

§ 2. **διαφέρουσι δὲ**] *δέ* for *γάρ*, Hdt. often preferring to connect two sentences coordinately, instead of introducing one as the reason for the other. Cf. 61. 7; 173. 3; 175. 1; II. 93. 8.

ἐπὶ ἴσης] *μοίρης* may be supplied, but see 108. 6, n.

§ 3. **Θαλῆς κ.τ.λ.**] 'Not unlikely. Thales had been in Egypt, to which country the Greeks owed their astronomical knowledge.' Ab. But see Grote *H. G.* II. 417 (III. 314).

οὖρον προθ.] 'Having laid down the year as a limit:' i.e. he did not definitely name any day or month.

ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον] 'I have examined every total eclipse in Oltmanns' tables, extending from B.C. 631 to B.C. 585, and I find only one (that of B.C. 585, May 28) which can have passed near to Asia Minor. That of B.C. 610, Sept. 30, which was adopted by Bailey and Oltmanns is now thrown north even of the sea of Azov.' Prof. Airy, quoted by Grote. Hdt.'s account implies a *total* eclipse.

εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γινομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο,
καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἑωυτοῖσι
γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἵδε, Συέν- 5
νεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ *καὶ* Λαβύνητος *ὁ* Βαβυλώνιος· *οὗτοί σφι*
καὶ τὸ ὅρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν, καὶ γάμων
ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα *γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν*
θυγατέρα Ἀρύηνιν Ἀστυάγεϊ *τῷ* Κυαξάρεω *παιδί. ἄνευ*
γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι
συμμένειν. Ὅρκια *δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τά περ τε* 6
Ἕλληνες· *καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτά-*
μωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροιΐην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75 Τοῦτον *δὴ ὦν τὸν* Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος, *ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ μη-* 1
τροπάτορα, καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι᾽ αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν
τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω. τὰ Κροῖσος *ἐπιμεμφόμενος* 2
τῷ Κύρῳ, *ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ*
Πέρσας, *καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας*

§ 4. **καὶ ἀμφότεροι**] 117. 1, n.

§ 5. **Συέννεσις**] Prob. a title, not a proper name: since we find another S. of C. cotemporary with Darius (V. 118. 2), a third with Xerxes (VII. 98), and a fourth with Artaxerxes (Xen. *An.* I. 2. 12).

Λαβύνητος] See 188. 1, n.

ἀναγκαίης] The constraint produced by family-ties. Cf. Lat. *necessarius, necessitudo.*

ἰσχυραὶ] With *συμμένειν.*

§ 6. **τά περ τε**] Stein thinks that *κατά* (=*καθ᾽ ἅ*) should be read for *τά*. But *ὅρκια*=manner of taking oaths (cf. *μάχη*, 79. 4; *ἄγραι* II. 70. 1), and so denotes the ceremonies observed. *τε* is answered by *καὶ πρὸς τ.*

ἐπεὰν] See 17. 4, n.

τὴν ὁμοχρ.] 'The surface-skin.' *ὁμο*—'that which holds together all the bones and muscles.' St.

τὸ αἷμα...ἀλλήλων] The order of the words is opposed to the rule laid down by Krüger that the possessive genitive of reflexive or reciprocal pronouns is always preceded by the article. See notes 165. 1; II. 107. 1. Tacitus describes a similar custom: 'levi ictu cruorem eliciunt, atque invicem lambunt.' *Ann.* XII. 47. 3.

CH. 75. § 1. **καταστρ. ἔσχε**] 'Had held in subjection,'—with reference to *καταστρ. εἶχε*, 73. 2. Except in the sense of the pluperfect, the aorist could hardly stand in an idiom which denotes continued action (27. 4).

ὀπίσω λόγ.] 'In the stories to follow,' chs. 107, foll. This Homeric use of *ὀπίσω* to denote the unseen future views each moment of time as something which overtakes us from behind and passes in front. The *λόγοι* are not the different 'books,' but the separate stories and episodes out of which the work seems to have been built. So we have *Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι* mentioned (184. 1, n.) and *Λυβικοὶ λόγοι* (II. 161. 3). The present passage would form part of a *Λύδιος λόγος*. Twice however Hdt. refers to passages in Bk. I. under the title of *ὁ πρῶτος (οἱ πρῶτοι) τῶν λόγων*,—at V. 36. 5 to I. 92. 2, and at VII. 93 to I. 171. 2.

πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων
μοῖραν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, 3
τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διε-
βίβασε τὸν στρατόν· ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς
οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅκως οἱ 4
διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναί κω
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας), λέγεται παρεόντα
τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν,
ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν·
ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε. ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον, διώ- 5
ρυχα βαθέην ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅκως ἂν τὸ
στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν
διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥεέθρων, καὶ αὖτις
παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι·
ὥστε, ἐπεί τε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμὸς, ἀμφοτέρῃ 6
διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ
ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσ-

§ 2. **πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ**] *E sua parte.* *πρός*=from the direction of (110. 2, n.), from the point of view of, and so favourable towards. Cf. *πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων, Φοῖβε, τὸν νόμον τίθης,* Eur. *Alc.* 57.

§ 3. **τὰς ἐούσας γ.**] The plural of a single bridge (205. 3, n.).

§ 4. **ταύτας**=*τὰς ἐούσας*, above.

λέγεται] Hdt.'s doubts about this story are prob. due to chronological difficulties (Ab.). 'The exact year of Thales' birth and the date of his death cannot be known.' Clinton.

ἐξ ἀριστερῆς] This implies that the army was marching, or that the camp was facing, upstream (i. e. southwards) at the time.

καὶ ἐκ δεξ.] 'Partly on the right hand as well' (§ 6).

§ 5. **ὅκως ἂν...λάβοι**] A common construction in Hdt., as in Homer. Cf. 91. 2; 99. 3; 152. 2. Thuc. has *μὴ ἂν—ἐπιπλεύσειαν*, II. 93. 2. Prob. *ἂν* renders the object in view rather less definite than it would otherwise be, by implying the existence of some condition:='if possible.' 'With the opt. *ὡς ἄν*, *ὅπως ἂν*=*quomodo* or *ut*. *προμηθοῦνται ὅπως ἂν εὐδαιμονοίης* is derived from the direct interrogative, *πῶς ἂν (εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη) εὐδαιμονοίης*;' Madv. *G. S. App.* 302. Tr. 'that so peradventure (the river) might take the camp, there pitched, in the rear (i. e. might flow on the western side of the camp), having on this side been diverted from its ancient course into the channel.'

§ 6. **καὶ ἐσχίσθη**] '*καί* leads one to expect a second *καί* before *διαβατός* which is omitted.' Kr. More prob. *καί*='actually,' the mere purpose (*ὅκως* above) now having the performance superadded.

καὶ τὸ παράπαν] 117. 1, n.

καὶ τὸ ἀρχ.] *καί* belongs to the object of **λέγ.**='say this also, viz. that.'

διέβησαν] 'How did they cross (on this supposition)?' i.e. how could they have crossed? Cf. 187. 5, n. Hdt.'s objection is hardly a valid one, since they might have dammed up the new stream and again diverted the river (into its old bed).

76 ἵεμαι· κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησάν αὐτόν; Κροῖ- 1
σος δὲ, ἐπεί τε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππα-
δοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς
χώρης ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν
Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κῃ κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπε-
δεύετο, φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἷλε μὲν τῶν 2
Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο, εἷλε δὲ τὰς περιοι-
κίδας αὐτῆς πάσας. Συρίους τε, οὐδὲν ἐόντας αἰτίους, ἀνα-
στάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν, 3
καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας, ἠντιοῦτο
Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὁρμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμ-
ψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπειρᾶτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου
ὑπιστάναι. Ἴωνες μέν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς 4
ἀπίκετο, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ
Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης 5
δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν,
τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης.
καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφότερα οὕτως ἠγωνίσατο.

77 Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρά- 1
τευμα (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ
Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν
ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων, παρακα-
λέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὅρκιον, (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ 2
πρὸς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον
ἤπερ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους,) μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυ-

CH. 76. § 1. **κατὰ Σ.**] 'Over against (=near) Sinope, or thereabouts' (*μάλιστά κῃ*).

ἐν] On the shore of (II. 163. 3, n.).

§ 2. **οὐδὲν ἐ. αἰτ.**] This adds point to the moral. Cf. *Κροῖσον ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης*, 130. 4.

§ 3. **ἐξελαύνειν**] Depends on *ὁρμῆσαι*. 'Before he started to lead forth his host.' So *ὁρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι*, VII. 150. 1.

οὐκ ἐπείθοντο] Cf. 141. 4, 5.

§ 4. **κατὰ τὸ ἰσχ.**] *Vi et armis.* 'Proved one another by force of fighting.' *κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν* is opposed to *δόλῳ*, IV. 201. 2.

§ 5. **ἀμφοτέρων**] Governed by *πολλῶν*. So *πεσόντων τῶν πάντων πολλῶν*, V. 120.

CH. 77. § 1. **τοῦτο**] = *τὸ πλῆθος*, since *μέμφομαι* takes an accus. of the thing, as well as an accus. of the person (above): i.e. we may have *μέμφομαί τινα τοῦτο*, as well as *μ. τινα κατὰ τοῦτο*.

μεμφθεὶς] This form is more common in Hdt. than the regular Attic aorist, *μέμψασθαι*.

§ 2. **Ἄμασιν**] See II. 172.

λωνίους, (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη·
ἐτυράννευε δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λαβύνη-
τος·) ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον
ῥητόν· ἁλίσας τε δὴ τούτους, καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρα-
τιὴν, ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρεὶς, ἅμα τῷ ἦρι στρατεύειν
ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς 3
τὰς Σάρδις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας, προ-
ερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις. τὸν δὲ 4
παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ
ξεινικὸς, πάντα ἀπεὶς, διεσκέδασε, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε
ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ
78 Σάρδις. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν 1
ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη. φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες
τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι, φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο
Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε 2
θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοισι

Λαβύνητος] See 188. 1, n.

ἐνένωτο] Repeats *ἐν νόῳ ἔχων*, the participle having become a finite verb owing to the numerous intervening clauses.

§ 3. **κατὰ τὰς σ.**] Not 'in accordance with the treaties,' but 'round to the allies' (*συμμαχίας* = *συμμάχους*, as at 82. 1). *κατά*, as in the phrase *κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς*, 30. 2.

§ 4. **ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξ.**] 'Which army of his was a foreign one.' The form of expression is somewhat awkward, but the writer seems to have inserted *αὐτοῦ* because *ὃς ἦν ξ.* = *τὸν ξεινικόν*, so that the whole sentence might have run:—*τὸν παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον καὶ ξεινικὸν αὐτοῦ στρατόν*. Stein unnecessarily refers *αὐτοῦ* to *στρατόν*, so that *ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξ.* = *ὃ* (or *ὅσον*) *τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦν ξεινικόν*, *ὅ* thus by attraction becoming *ὅς*, just as *τὸ πολὺ τῆς Πελοποννήσου* becomes *ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Π.* (68. 7). He quotes Aesch. *Sept.* 818, *ἕξουσι δ' ἣν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονός* (which however is not parallel, *ἣν χθονός* not being the same thing as *χθόνα*, *ἣν αὐτῆς*); Thuc. IV. 109. 1, *Μεγαρῆς τὰ μακρὰ τείχη, ἃ σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, κατέσκαψαν* (where either *σφῶν* = *Μεγαρέων*, or *ἅ* = 'those parts of them, I mean, which,' thus not having *τείχη* for its antecedent).

μὴ] *ἐλπίσας* implies fear. Cf. *ἐς φόβον καριστέατο ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι*, VIII. 12. 2.

ἄρα] III. 8, n.

CH. 78. § 1. **τὰς νομάς**] 'The (i.e. their usual) pastures.'

ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν] 22. 2, n.

§ 2. **ἐς τῶν ἐξηγ. Τελμ.**] For the article (which acc. to Stein is irregular with the genitive in this idiom), cf. *ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω*, 92. 3; *ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου*, 113. 4. The collocation *τῶν ἐξ. Τελμ.* (as if *ἐξηγητέων* were an adjective) is probably to be explained by the fact that *οἱ ἐξηγηταί* was a well-known title, borne by the Telmessians, as by the Eumolpidae at Athens (see *Dict. Ant.*). Cf. *τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον*, Xen. *An.* V. 7. 24. The correction *τοὺς ἐξηγητάς* is certainly needless. The Telmessus here meant seems to have been in Lycia (see *Dict. Geogr.*).

δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων, τὸ
θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι.
πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἥλω 3
ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέν τοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν
ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπι-
κόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγον-
τες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα.
Τελμησσέες μέν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλω- 4
κότι, οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν
Κροῖσον.

79 Κῦρος δὲ, αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην 1
τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι
Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὕρισκε
πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς
Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἁλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν
δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεε κατὰ τάχος. 2
ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος
Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθεε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν 3
ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς
κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον 4
τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρειότερον οὔτε
ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων,
δούρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι

§ 3. **ἀναπλῶσαι**] The sea-voyage would involve a long *détour*, but perhaps the land-route was already occupied by the enemy. Larch.

§ 4. **τῶν**] = *τούτων τὰ* (*ἃ*). This form of attraction (called Attic) is seldom used, except where the relative should properly be in the accusative, e.g. *πρῶτον τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν*, 23. 2. But the proposal to omit *ἦν* is unnecessary.

αὐτὸν Κρ.] Cf. 85. 1.

Ch. 79. § 1. **πρῆγμα**] See note on *ἔργον*, 17. 5.

§ 2. **ἐληλύθεε**] This use of the pluperfect (which perhaps is meant to emphasize the *suddenness* of the action) is common in Homer with verbs of motion (e.g. *οὐδ' ἀπίθησε | μύθῳ Ἀθηναίης· ἡ δ' Οὔλυμπόνδε βεβήκει*, *Il.* I. 220) as well as in Hdt.

§ 3. **ἢ**] On the analogy of *ἐναντίως ἢ* (cf. 22. 3). The phrase is a combination of *παρὰ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δόξαν* and *ἐναντίως ἢ ὡς κ.τ.λ.*

§ 4. **τοῦτον**] Opposed to Hdt.'s own time. See chs. 155—6.

μάχη] Manner of fighting. Cf. *θυσίη*, II. 39. 1; *μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης*, Hom. *Il.* II. 823; *ὁ πυκτικὸς οὐ πᾶσι τὴν αὐτὴν μάχην περιτίθησιν*, Aristot. *Eth.* X. 9. 15.

ἀπ' ἵππων] Not in the Homeric sense, e.g. *ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων | ἄνδρασι μάρνασθαι*, since that refers exclusively to the use of chariots.

αὐτοὶ] The men, as opposed to

80 ἀγαθοί. Ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο, τὸ πρὸ τοῦ 1
ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλὸν, (διὰ δὲ
αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὕλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς
τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἕρμον, ὃς ἐξ οὔρεος ἱροῦ
Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην
πόλιν,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην 2
τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε, Ἁρπάγου
ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, τοιόνδε. ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ 3
ἑωυτοῦ ἕποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας
πάσας ἁλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα, ἄνδρας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰς
ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους. σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς
προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προϊέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου
ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἕπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευε·
ὄπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὡς δὲ οἱ 4
πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ
φειδομένους, κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον
δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἢν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται.
ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε. τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς 5
ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ
ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτῆς ὁρέων, οὔτε τὴν ὀδμὴν
ὀσφραινόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο,

their weapons: cf. 70. 2. A 'gloss,' which Bähr quotes, —*ἱππεύεσθαι· παθητικῶς· Ἡρόδοτος πρώτῳ*—seems to refer *αὐτοὶ* to *ἵππων*. But we have the deponent *ἱππευομένους* at 27. 4, and why not here? Elsewhere Hdt. uses the active form.

CH. 80. § 1. **πρὸ τοῦ ἄστ.**] There are extensive plains both above and below Sardis. But it is prob. that by *πρό* Hdt. means 'on the side towards Persia,' i.e. above. Cf. *ὄπισθε*, 191. 2, n.

ἄλλοι] viz. the Pactolus (which flowed through the agora, v. 101. 3) and the Cogamus.

συρρηγνῦσι] 'Burst forth and join.' The word well denotes the impetuosity of a mountain stream. Notice the difference between the plural, and the singular *συρρήγνυσι*.

οὔρεος ἱροῦ] In Phrygia. See *Dict. Geogr. Cadi.* Cybele is called a *θεὸς ἐπιχωρίη* of Sardis, v. 101. 3.

§ 2. **τὴν ἵππον**] So *τῇ καμήλῳ*, 'the camel-troop,' below, § 3. See 179. 3, n. This Harpagus is the one mentioned ch. 108, foll.

§ 4. **ὡς δέ οἱ πάντες**] *οἱ* is the dative of the pronoun.

παραίνεσε] For the omission of the augment, see 19. 1, n.

§ 5. **κάμηλον ἵππος**] The asyndeton emphasizes, and is therefore very frequently used by Hdt. where an explanation is being introduced after an antecedent *ὧδε*, *τόδε* or *τοιόνδε*. Cf. 84. 1; 93. 2; 96. 1, 2; 114. 1.

ἐσεσόφιστο] We find instances of passive deponents used by Hdt. (207. 8, n.), but here a passive meaning would involve the awkwardness of making the verb impersonal.

ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ᾖ τὸ ἱππικὸν, τῷ δή τι καὶ ἐπεῖχε
ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήϊσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, 6
ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὤσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ
εἶδον αὐτὰς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ
ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν· 7
ἀλλ', ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων,
πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ, πεσόντων 8
ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί. κατειληθέντες δὲ
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων 1
οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην, ἔπεμπε ἐκ
τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 2
πρότερον διεπέμποντο, ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέ-
γεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην
82 δέεσθαι βοηθέειν, ὡς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου. Ἔς τε δὴ ὦν 1
τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα.
τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον
τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἔρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ
χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης. τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας, ἐούσας 2

τῷ δή τι] 'Wherewith he was actually setting his mind upon gaining no little glory.' With *ἐπεῖχε* supply *τὸν νοῦν*. For *ὁ Λυδός*, see 2. 4, n. *καί* adds emphasis: = 'far from thinking it useless.'

§ 6. **τὴν μάχην]** The one implied in the previous account. Cf. *τῇ ναυμαχίῃ*, 166. 3.

ὤσφραντο] Compare L. and S. *Lex.*, *ὀσφραίνομαι*, with Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, *ἀπαυρᾶν*, § 5.

§ 7. **ἔμαθον]** Used by Hdt. of knowledge derived from the sense of sight. Cf 10. 3; 68. 2; 191. 7, n.

§ 8. **τεῖχος]** The citadel (98. 6).

CH. 81. § 2. **οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότ.]** Sc. *πεμφθέντες*.

διεπέμποντο] The imperfect (where we should have expected the pluperfect), is descriptive:—'were being sent,' i. e. at the time and under the circumstances described above (77. 3). Cf. *ἐφέροντο*, 66. 5.

τὴν ταχίστην] See note on *ἐξ ὑστέρης*, 108. 6.

δέεσθαι] The infinitive expresses the intent of the action of the main verb: Madv. *G. S.* 148.

CH. 82. § 1. **τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτ.]** 'And to them themselves too, I mean the Spartans.' The demonstrative *τοῖσι* simply anticipates *Σπαρτιήτῃσι*, according to the Homeric usage (e.g. *αἱ δ' ἐπέμυξαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη*), though, unlike Homer, Hdt. repeats the article with the subst.

τοῦτον τὸν χρ.] About 547 B.C.

§ 2. **Θυρέας]** Above we have the sing. form, which Thuc. always uses (II. 27. 3; IV. 56. 2; 57. 3). So we have *Μαλέων* below, but *Μαλέην* at IV. 179. 1 (Thuc. uses the sing. form); *Πλάταιαν*, VIII. 50. 3, but *Πλαταιάς*, IX. 25. 3.

ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον] Not to be

τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης, ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέρην
Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ χώρη καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίη νῆσος
καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ 3
σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένῃ, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συν-
ελθόντες, ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι· ὁκότεροι
δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος
τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, μηδὲ
παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μή, παρεόντων
τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἑσσουμένους τοὺς
σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιεν. Συνθέμενοι ὦν ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσ- 4
σοντο· λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλλον.
μαχομένων δέ σφεων καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων, ὑπελεί-
ποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκήνωρ
τε καὶ Χρόμιος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης. ὑπελείφθη-
σαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν 5
Ἀργείων, ὡς νενικηκότες, ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος· ὁ δὲ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης, σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς
καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον, ἐν
τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἑωυτόν. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρῆσαν πυνθανό- 6

taken together on the analogy of δουλώσας ἔχεις (27. 4).

ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέρην] These words must denote the *south-east* corner of the Peloponnese, of which Malea forms the extreme point. Acc. to Bähr Hdt. calls this district *πρὸς ἑσπ.* with reference to Ionia or Argolis, because the promontory of Malea lies to the westward of those places. But a more simple explanation is possible. In Malea two lines of coast meet, the one running in a southerly, the other in an easterly (or south-easterly) direction. By adding *ἡ πρὸς ἑσπ.* Hdt. shows which of the two he means:—'the country up to Malea, (not merely that to the north of M., but) that to the west,'—this latter being nearer to the city of Sparta, and its possession therefore by the Argives the more strange.

Ἀργείων] With *ἦν*, 'used to belong to,' prob. in the time of Phidon: see Grote *H. G.* II. 96 (II. 410).

Κυθηρίη] The adj. form,—the subst. being **Κύθηρα** (VII. 235. 3).

αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν ν.] 'Prob. those of which Strabo (363) says: *περικεῖνται δὲ (τὰ Κύθηρα) νησίδια πλείω τὰ μὲν ἐγγὺς τὰ δὲ καὶ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω.*' St.

§ 3. **μηδὲ**] Cf. *οὐδέ*, 45. 1.

§ 5. **οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο**] See 18. 2, note. We have here only the Lacedaemonian account. Grote, *H. G.* II. 205 (II. 606).

εἶχε ἑωυτόν] 'Kept himself at his post,' i.e. remained under arms on the spot where his place in the line originally was:—opposed to *λείπειν τὴν τάξιν*. Cf. *κατ' οἴκους ἑωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι*, 'keep themselves within doors,' III. 79. 3.

§ 6. **δευτέρῃ**] 3. 1, n.

μενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν,
λέγοντες οἱ μέν, ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δέ,
τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παρα-
μείναντα, καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς. τέλος δέ,
ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων δὲ καὶ
ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μέν 7
νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλάς,
πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ
κατάρην, μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ
τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν ἂν Θυρέας ἀνασώ-
σωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον, 8
οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου, ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα
λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυάδην,
αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων
διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι
83 ἑωυτόν. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγ- 1
μάτων, ἧκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ, δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν
πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεί τε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος,
ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν. καί σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι, καὶ νεῶν 2
ἐουσέων ἑτοίμων, ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος

αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι] 'Both sides said that *they* (αὐτοί) were conquerors.' Thuc. uses the same words in reference to this story: *διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης* (Θυρεάτιδος), *ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἠξίωσαν νικᾶν* (V. 41. 2). On the occasion to which Thuc. refers (B.C. 429) the Argives, before making a treaty with the Lacedaemonians, stipulated that the possession of Thyrea might still be challenged and fought for on the old terms. The Lacedaemonians thought this stipulation a piece of folly.

§ 7. **κατακειρ.**] Cutting the hair was a mark of mourning (II. 36. 2; VI. 21. 2). St.

πρότ....κομῶντες] The Homeric Ἀχαιοι were *καρηκομόωντες*. Hence prob. the adoption of the Spartan custom: cf. 67. 3, n. On the enmity between Argos and Sparta, see Curtius, I. 254.

ἐπάναγκες] An Athenian law-term. Hence here prob. there is a reference to an earlier *νόμος*, which made the practice compulsory.

§ 8. **κομᾶν**] Depends on *ἔθεντο νόμον*. It was also a Spartan *νόμος* to comb the hair before battle. See VII. 208. 4; 209, 5.

τῶν οἱ] I. 4, n.

συλλοχιτέων] The loss of his comrades would be all the more grievous, because the military and the political divisions of the Spartans coincided. For the *λόχος*, see *Dict. Ant. Exercitus*.

μιν] Repeats *τὸν ἕνα* above. See II. 10. 3, note.

CH. 83. § 1. **ὅμως**] i.e. *καίπερ τοιούτων ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων*.

ὁρμέατο] The pluperfect (cf. *ἐπέπαυντο*, § 2), as at 79. 2.

§ 2. **παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ... ἐουσέων**] Cf. 69. 1, n.

τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι
μέν, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην, ἐπέπαυντο.

84 Σάρδιες δὲ ἥλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσκαιδεκάτη 1
ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ
τῇ ἑωυτοῦ, διαπέμψας ἱππέας, προεῖπε, τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι
τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πειρησαμένης τῆς 2
στρατιῆς, ὡς οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμέ-
νων, ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν
Ὑροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο
φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἁλῷ κοτέ. ἀπό- 3
τομός τε γάρ ἐστι ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ
Μήλης, ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων, μούνῃ οὐ περιήνεικε
τὸν λέοντα, τόν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων,
ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος, ἔσονται Σάρδιες
ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ 4
ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο,
ὡς ἐὸν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου
τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. Ὁ ὦν δὴ Ὑροιάδης οὗτος ὁ 5

CH. 84. § 1. **τεσσερεσκαιδεκάτη**] Notice the form of the ordinal, the cardinal *τεσσερεσκαίδεκα* being regarded by Hdt. as a single word, and therefore indeclinable. Thus we have *τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἔτεα, ἡμέρας*, 86. 1, though we find *ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα*, 119. 2, and *τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν*, Thuc. II. 21. 1.

§ 2. **Μάρδος**] See 125. 6.

§ 3. **ἔστι ταύτῃ**] Hdt. had been to Sardis (*ἐς ἐμέ*, 93. 3).

ὁ πρότερον β.] 'The former king.' Cf. II. 23. 2, n

λέοντα] The lion was an emblem of the sun in the Lydian religion: cf. 50. 4. Bähr.

δικασάντων] *εἰκασάντων* and *διδαξάντων* have been needlessly conjectured.

§ 4. **τὸ χωρίον**] Krüger says that *τὸ χωρίον* 'should probably be omitted, and the genitive made to depend on *τῇ*. With *τὸ χωρίον* we must have had *ἡ ἀκρόπολις*, like *τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἐννέα ὁδοί*, Thuc. I. 100. 3.' We may however equally well retain *τὸ χωρίον*, and still take *τῆς ἀκροπόλιος* as the partitive genitive after *τῇ*.

ἔστι δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Not 'it is that part of the citadel which faces Tmolus' (for this we should want *τὸ πρὸς τοῦ Τ. τετρ.*), but 'it lies facing towards Tmolus in the citadel.' The genitive *τῆς πόλιος* may be explained either (1) as added to express the general locality, just as the name of a country is put in the genitive, with reference to some particular point or place in it, e.g. *τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον*, or (2) as the gen. of reference (192. 3, n.). Compare *ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης*, 'facing *in* Sicily towards T.' VI. 22, 4. For the genitive *Τμώλου*, see 110. 2, n.

§ 5. **οὗτος**] All the MSS. have *αὐτός*, which is defended by Matthiä as making an opposition to the

Μάρδος, ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς
ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν,
καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο. τότε δὲ 6
δὴ ὁ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκεε, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων
ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν, οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε
ἡλώκεσαν, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

85 Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγένετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ 1
καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἄφωνος δέ.
ἐν τῇ ὦν παρελθούσῃ εὐεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν 2
ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς
περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε
τάδε·

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε, 3
μὴ βούλευ πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τόδε σοι πολὺ λώϊον ἀμφὶς
ἔμμεναι. αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἤματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.

Ἁλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχεος, ἤϊε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων 4
ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μέν νυν

Lydian ('quum Lydum... vidisset, *ipse* etiam Hyroeades'), and taken by Blakesley with ἰδών, 'having seen with his own eyes.' But the former explanation is contradicted by the order of the words, and the latter involves omitting ὁ Μάρδος. Perhaps Hdt. originally wrote οὗτος here and αὐτός below (§ 6), and the two having become transposed by the copyists, ουτος was altered into ὁ αὐτός.

§ 6. **ὁ αὐτὸς**] This, if right, must mean 'the same man who had seen the descent of the Lydian.' Most modern editors omit the article.

κατ' αὐτὸν] 'After him,'—either literally, i.e. in his track: cf. μεταδιώκει ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ' αὐτόν, III. 4. 5; or metaphorically, *eodem modo atque ille* (cf. 98. 8, n.).

CH. 85. § 1. **πρότερον**] See 34. 3; 38. 3, n.

§ 2. **ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος καὶ ...ἐπεπόμφεε**] Cf. 8. 2; 19. 4; 129. 1; II. 44. 1.

§ 3. **μέγα νήπιε**] So Patroclus is called μέγα νήπιος (Hom. *Il.* XVI. 46) for praying to be allowed to go out to battle: ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλεν | οἷ αὐτῷ θανατόν τε κακὸν καὶ κῆρα λίτεσθαι. St. Hesiod uses the same expression in his admonitions to his brother (μέγα νήπιε Πέρση, *Opp.* 286). On the connection between the Delphic oracle and Hesiod's poetry, see Göttling's *Hesiod* (p. xxix. 2nd ed.).

ἀμφὶς ἔμμεναι] = *abesse*. Acc. to Buttmann (*Lexil.* 18. 10), the construction is best thus: τόδε σοι λώϊον (ἐστὶν) ἀμφὶς εἶναι 'it is better for thee to be without it,' ἀμφίς sc. αὐτοῦ, like ἀμφὶς φυλόπιδος, Hom. *Od.* XVI. 267. It seems simpler to supply σοῦ after ἀμφίς, like Διὸς ἀμφίς, *Il.* VIII. 444.

§ 4. **μέν νυν**] Owing to the insertion of the clause with γάρ (8. 2, n.), the sentence is resumed with a fresh connecting particle: cf. 29. 1.

ὀρέων ἐπιόντα, ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε,
οὐδέ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανέειν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ
ἄφωνος, ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ
ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ· "Ὤνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον."
Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγξατο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη
86 ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ 1
Σάρδις ἔσχον, καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα
τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκη-
θέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ
μεγάλην ἀρχήν· λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ
Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' 2
αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον καὶ δὶς ἑπτὰ
Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν παῖδας· ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια
ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεῳ δή, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι
θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα,
τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι,
εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζώοντα κατακαυθῆναι.
τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιέειν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἑστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς 3

ἔρρηξε] Cf. II. 2. 5. Speech from the hitherto dumb is regarded as the bursting forth of an arrested torrent. So 'rumpit vocem,' Virg. *Aen.* II. 129; 'rumpere fontem,' Ov. *Met.* V. 257; *δακρύων ῥήξασα θερμὰ νάματα*, Soph. *Tr.* 919. The legend forgets that the Persian would not have understood the Lydian language (*ἑρμηνέας*, 86. 4).

Ὤνθρωπε] Not in its later contemptuous sense (cf. 35. 3), though in the distinction drawn between *ἄνδρες* and *ἄνθρωποι*, VII. 210. 4, we seem to see a trace of the mode in which the later meaning arose.

CH. 86. § 1. **Σάρδις ἔσχον**] Prob. 545 B.C. Clinton.

τὸ χρηστήριον] See 53. 3.

§ 2. **πυρήν**] Yet at III. 16. 4 we are told *Πέρσαι θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ ἐστί.* Here therefore Hdt.'s account must have come from a Lydian and not from a Persian source (cf. *λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν*, 87. 1). See Grote's note, *H.G.* III. 165 (IV. 259).

δὶς ἑπτὰ] So in a similar context, *δὶς ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας* VIII. 114 3. The phrase is prob. due to some supposed sanctity of the number seven (pps. because the heavenly bodies are seven in number: see 98. 8, n.). Here we should naturally have expected *τεσσερεσκαίδεκα*, in order to give greater force to the coincidence pointed out above between the number of days of the siege and the number of years during which Croesus had reigned.

Λ. παῖδας] See 27. 3, n.

ὅτεῳ δή] To some god or other.' *ὅστις δή* = *nescio quis*, a stronger form of *τις*. Cf. *οἷα δή* (= *τοιαῦτά τινα*) below § 6; *ὅσοι δή*, 160. 2. In all these instances *δή* (like *δήποτε* in later Greek: cf. 157. 3) increases the indefiniteness of the expression, because it emphatically calls attention to the ellipse. Thus *ὅστις δή* literally = *just* whoever (you please).

πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καί περ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσούτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὥς οἱ εἴη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζωόντων ὄλβιον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρὶς οὐνομάσαι Σόλωνα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα, κελεῦσαι 4
τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπείρεσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον, τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο· καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν. Κροῖσον δὲ 5
τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν ἐρωτώμενον, μετὰ δέ, ὡς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν· "Τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν." Ὡς δέ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτεον τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ 6
ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δή, ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε, οἷα δὴ εἴπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι

§ 3. **προστῆναι**] Not from προΐστημι (προὔστην with the accus., Soph. *El.* 1378, has quite a different meaning), but from προσίστημι, in the sense of παραστῆναι or ἐσελθεῖν, = 'when this thought came upon him.' So προσχόντας from προσέχειν 2. 2; and προστάντες, προστάς (119. 5; 129. 1) prob. belong to προσίστημι.

ἀνενεικάμενον] Buttmann's interpretation is the right one: see L. and S. *Lex.*

ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης] To be taken with what follows: 'from having been till then perfectly quiet.' Buttm. Some MSS. have λειποψυχίης, and this has been regarded as a marginal explanation, which has usurped the place of the true reading ἀψυχίης. On this view ἀνενεικάμενον must in opposition to Buttm. be rendered 'having recovered' (= ἀνενειχθείς, 116. 2), but ἡσυχίης is clearly preferable.

§ 5. **τὸν ἂν κ.τ.λ.**] i. e. (ἐπικαλέομαι τοῦτον) τὸν πᾶσι τ. ἐς λ. ἐλθεῖν (πρὸ) μεγάλων χρημάτων προετίμησα ἂν (εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν).

§ 6. **ὡς...ἀρχὴν**] 'How to begin with' (9. 3, n.). Hdt. makes Solon's visit the turning point in Croesus' life (cf. μετὰ Σ. οἰχόμενον, 34. 1). Solon's unheeded warning was the ἀρχή, and the funeral-pile the τέλος.

ἀποφλαυρίσειε] Corresponds to ἦλθε above. For other examples of the coordination of indic. and opt. see 117. 2; II. 160. 6.

οἷα δὴ] Not part of what Croesus actually said to Cyrus, but added by the author in order to avoid a repetition of Solon's speech: 'having said so and so,' 'with such and such words' (whatever they were):—εἴπας agreeing with Solon.

ὥς τε...ἀποβεβήκοι] 'And how he had found everything to come to pass.' The reading ὥς τε (Bekker) is much simpler than ὥστε, which Bähr retains. Cf. VII. 197, ἔλεγον ὡς...μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς...ὥς τε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοισι. Bähr makes ὥστε depend on οἷα δὴ εἴπας, 'quippe ita locutus, ut omnia evenerint.' But should we have had the optative, if this had been Hdt.'s meaning? Another reading is ἀποβεβήκεέ οἱ, but in this prob., as Schw. says, οἱ was originally a correction written above the termination of the variant ἀποβεβήκεε.

αὐτῷ] = Κροίσῳ, thus referring to

τῇπερ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων, ἢ ἐς
ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι
δοκέοντας ὀλβίους εἶναι. Τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγέ-
εσθαι· τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἁμμένης, καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα.
καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ εἶπε Κροῖσος, 7
μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν
ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω,
ζώοντα πυρὶ διδοίη· πρός τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ
ἐπιλεξάμενον, ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως
ἔχον, κελεύει σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ, καὶ
καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσου· καὶ τοὺς
87 πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι. Ἐν- 1
θαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου
μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ,
δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι, τὸν Ἀπόλ-

the same person as ἑωυτοῦ above and ἑωυτόν below. An indirect reflexive (i. e. a pronoun which refers to the subject of the main sentence, while the subject of its own clause is something distinct) may be expressed either by the regular reflexive form (where emphasis is needed, as e. g. here, in the clauses which have Solon for their subject), or (more commonly in Hdt.) by the oblique cases of αὐτός. Cf. αὐτόν, 98. 2: αὐτῆς, III. 2; αὐτῷ...ἑωυτοῦ (of the same person), 129. 4; μιν, II. 5).

οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον...ἢ] 'Not so much with reference to himself as:'—an instance of the common Greek idiom (Litotes) by which less is said than is really meant: 'not more than' = 'not so much as.' Stein maintains that it is necessary to read ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν, comparing IV. 118. 5, ἥκει ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας, 'as much against you as against us' (cf. V. 94. 3; VII. 16. 8). Without the second negative, he asserts, the meaning would be 'as little with reference to himself as,'—i. e. neither with reference to himself nor to mankind at large. St. cites Eur. *Tr.* 793, ὅστις γὰρ αὐχεῖ θεῶν ἐπίστασθαι πέρι | οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον οἶδεν ἢ πείθει λέγων, 'knows as little as he persuades.' But the reading of the text may be justified by other instances, e. g. οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐπλέομεν, 'not so much for an engagement as on an expedition,' Thuc. II. 87. 2; οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ, 'rather by fear than by favour,' *ib.* I. 9. 3. We cannot therefore say that a second negative *must* be inserted after οὐ μᾶλλον ἤ,—only that it *may* be.

τὸ ἀνθρώπινον] 97. 1, n.

τὰ περιέσχατα] The outskirts of the pile.

§ 7. **τὴν τίσιν**] 'The vengeance' (which would assuredly come),—the definite article implying a reference to the doctrine of νέμεσις.

κελεύει] The reading of all the MSS., and prob. right. Almost as strong an instance of ἀνακολουθία occurs at V. 103. 4: καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχέειν, ὡς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδις, τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο. Bähr (2nd ed.) adopts the correction κελεύειν.

λωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη,
παραστῆναι, καὶ ῥύσασθαί μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν 2
μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν· ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ
νηνεμίης συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα, καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρ-
ραγῆναι, καὶ ὗσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναί τε τὴν
πυρήν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον, ὡς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ
θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
πυρῆς εἴρεσθαι τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε, 3
ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον, πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ
καταστῆναι;" Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπρηξα
τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος
δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς, ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεύ-
εσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστι, ὅς τις πόλεμον πρὸ 4
εἰρήνης αἱρέεται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας
θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι."

88 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κάτισέ τε 1
ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ, καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθείῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώυ-
μαζέ τε ὁρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ 2
δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος ἦν. μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφείς τε καὶ
ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραΐζοντας, εἶπε·
"Ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ, τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω, ἢ
σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;" Κῦρος δέ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε 3

CH. 87. § 1. **εἴ τί οἱ**] Compare the prayer of Chryses, Hom. *Il.* I. 37, *κλῦθί μευ, ἀργυρότοξ',...εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα κ.τ.λ.*

§ 3. **τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδ.**] The dative either denotes 'the accompanying circumstance' (Madv. *G. S.* 42), = 'with,' i. e. 'to thy happiness,' like *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀτέλει τῇ νίκῃ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἀνέστησαν*, Thuc. VIII. 27. 6, or more prob. the cause (= 'driven on by') like *ἀγνοίᾳ ἁμαρτάνειν, φόβῳ τὰ προστεταγμένα ποιεῖν.* For the fatalism involved in this latter view compare the concluding sentence of the ch.

§ 4. **ὅς τις**] For *ὥστε*, like *qui* with the subjunctive in Latin. So *οὕτω δή τι ἐοῦσα πικρὴ ἢ κ.τ.λ.*, IV. 52. 3:—*ὅς* being used properly after a definite, and *ὅς τις* after an indefinite antecedent.

ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ] In Attic we find *μέν* sometimes inserted as here between the preposition and the article and sometimes not. Krüg. quotes from Plato *ἐν μὲν τοῖς συμφωνοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὔ*, and *ἡ φύσις εἰς τὰ μὲν οἷά τε, εἰς δὲ τὰ οὔ.*

φίλον ἦν] Homeric. Stein compares *οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενέϊ φίλον εἶναι*, *Il.* II. 116.

CH. 88. § 1. **κάρτα**] Join this with *πολλῇ*.

ὁρέων] Hom. *Il.* XXIV. 631, *αὐτὰρ ὁ Δαρδανίδην Πρίαμον θαύμαζεν Ἀχιλλεὺς | εἰσορόων.*

λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα, λέγων· "Οὗτος ὁ
πολλὸς ὅμιλος τί ταῦτα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐργάζεται;" Ὁ δὲ
εἶπε· "Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει, καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ δια-
φορέει." Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο· "Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμήν, 4
οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων
89 μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά." Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπι- 1
μελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς
ἄλλους, εἴρετο Κροῖσον ὅ τι οἱ ἐνορῴη ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι.
ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ἐπεί τε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλόν σοι, δικαιῶ, εἴ τι 2
ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι, φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταί,
εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἢν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιίδῃς διαρπάσαντας 3
καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα
γενέσθαι· ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχῃ, τοῦτον προσδέ-
κεσθαί τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποίησον ὧδε, εἴ τοι 4
ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω. κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι
τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἳ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας
τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι, ὥς σφεα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δε-
κατευθῆναι τῷ Διί. καὶ σύ τε σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι βίῃ 5
ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, συγγνόντες ποιέειν

§ 3. **εἰρώτα**] Unaugmented (19. 1, n.), from the epic form εἰρωτάω. We find ἀνηρώτων however, Hom. *Od.* IV. 251.

§ 4. **μέτα**] = μέτεστι. So ἔνι, 181. 7; 183. 1; πάρα, 42. 1; ἔπι (in an oracle), VI. 86. 14.

τὰ σά] The emphasis is marked by the position of the words.

CH. 89. § 1. **ἐπιμελὲς...τὰ**] This may be compared with ταῦτα δὴ ἀδυνατὸν ἐφάνη, Plat. *Parm.* 160 A. (For converse instances of the predicate in the neuter plural, see 4. 3, note.) But very possibly the meaning is 'curae fuit quae Croesus diceret' (St.), the relative being used (as at 56. 2) to introduce an indirect question.

οἱ] = Κύρῳ. *Dativus commodi.*

§ 2. **πλέον**] 'More (than others).' So προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, IX. 41. 4. From this use comes the notion of advantage in πλέον ἔχειν, φέρεσθαι. Translate: 'if I have the advantage in seeing aught therein.'

ὑβρισταὶ] Perhaps here, as Bähr says, Hdt. is putting into the mouth of Croesus the Greek sentiments of his own age about Persian pride. There is however some doubt about the reading ὑπερκόμπους ἄγαν, which B. quotes from Aesch. *Pers.* 795, and ὑβρισταί need not mean more than 'unruly' (cf. II. 32. 3).

§ 3. **ἐξ αὐτῶν**] This may refer to τούτους, but see 9. 1, note.

ἐπίδοξα] = προσδόκιμα. The asyndeton, ὃς ἂν κ.τ.λ., as at 80. 5.

προσδέκεσθαι] 32. 12, note.

§ 4. **λεγόντων**] As if καὶ οὗτοι had preceded. So we have the imperative used after ὡς, 'since,'—ὡς εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ, VII. 172. 4; and after ὥστε,—τὰ πολλὰ ὁ Πρωταγόρας ἔνδον διατρίβει, ὥστε θάρρει, Plat. *Prot.* 311 A.

90 σε δίκαια, ἑκόντες ποιήσουσι." Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος 1
ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι. αἰνέσας δὲ πολλὰ
καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο
ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε· "Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου 2
σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο
δόσιν, τήν τινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα." Ὁ δὲ 3
εἶπε· "Ὦ δέσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐτίμησα ἐγὼ θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπείρεσθαι,
πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας
νόμος ἔστι οἱ." Κῦρος δὲ εἴρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύων 4
παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος δέ οἱ ἐπανηλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ
διάνοιαν, καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσις, καὶ μάλιστα
τὰ ἀναθήματα· καὶ ὡς ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ μαντηΐῳ, ἐστρατεύσατο
ἐπὶ Πέρσας. λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὖτις παραιτεό- 5
μενος, ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τούτων ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ
γελάσας εἶπε· "Καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ' ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ
ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέῃ." Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε 6
ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο,
τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν, εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὔ τι

CH. 90. § 2. **σεῦ...αἰτέο**] Cf. 3; 178. 3.

ἀνδρὸς βασ.] 'En homme roi,' Larch. 'With right royal deeds and words art thou ready to do me service.' For the zeugma, cf. 32. 10.

§ 4. **ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο**] 'What charge he brought against the god that he made this request.' The form *ἐπηγορεύων* is doubtful. If from *ἐπήγορος* (*ἐπηγορία* is found once in Dion Cassius), the right form would be *ἐπηγορέων*. Lobeck (*Phryn.* 702) thinks that it is the result of an attempt to ionicise *ἐπαγορεύων*, which latter he considers to be the true reading.

ἐπανηλόγησε] This, the reading of all the MSS., is retained by Bähr, though with some hesitation. Its form may perhaps be justified by *κατηλόγησε* (84. 4), and the meaning 'repeated,' 'told over again' assigned to it (*ἐπαν-*, as in *ἐπανειρόμενος*, 91. 5). But most modern editors adopt the correction *ἐπαλιλλόγησε* (cf. 118. 1). Hdt. seems to attribute the idea of repetition to Croesus, because he has himself told the story (chs. 53 foll.).

§ 5. **κατέβαινε**] *καταβαίνω*, as used by Hdt. in this metaphorical way, contains two notions (1) that of coming to the end of a speech or conversation, (2) that of recurring to the main point after a digression. See 116. 8; 118. 1; III. 75. 2; IX. 94. 2. Its meaning is therefore different from that of *descendo*, *decurro*, which always seem to imply lowering oneself to what is disgraceful, or having recourse to what is unpleasant. Cf. II. 65. 3, n.

τούτων] One MS. has *τοῦτο* (Kr.), but compare the construction of *μέμφομαι*, Aesch. *Sept.* 652, *ὡς οὔποτ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων | μέμψει.*

§ 6. **ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τ. οὐδ.**] Sardis

ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντηΐοισί ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύ-
εσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν,
ἀπ᾽ ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι· δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας.
ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι
91 Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι. Ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ 1
λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε·
"Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῷ.
Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἁμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν 2
δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικηΐῳ ἐπισπόμενος, ἐφό-
νευσε τὸν δεσπότεα, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ
προσήκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Λοξίεω, ὅκως ἂν κατὰ
τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος, καὶ μὴ
κατ᾽ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας.
ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὗται, ἠνύσατο καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ. τρία 3
γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἅλωσιν· καὶ τοῦτο
ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος, ὡς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοισι ἁλοὺς
τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπήρ-

cannot have been taken before 548 B.C. at the earliest (86. 1, n). In this very year the temple at Delphi was burnt down (II. 180. 1), and several years must have elapsed before it was rebuilt. Acc. to Stein it was not begun before 539 B.C.

εἰ οὔ τι] Had *μή* been used, it would have implied that the enquirer was really in doubt.

εἶναι] The inf. has a double function, going both with *νόμος* (for *εἰ εἶναι*, see 24. 11, n.) and with *ἀχαρίστοισι*.

CH. 91. § 1. **τὴν πεπρωμένην**] Aesch. *Prom.* 518, *οὔκουν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην* (Ζεύς). But in the oracle delivered to the Athenians (VII. 141. 3) Zeus is represented as the supreme power: *οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί᾽ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι, κ.τ.λ.* See Grote, *H. G.* III. 168 (IV. 264).

§ 2. **πέμπτον**] See 13. 5, n. Bellanger (quoted by Larcher) thinks that it was this use of *πέμπτος* which misled Croesus, who would consider the prediction fulfilled in the untimely death of his son Atys.

ἐπισπόμενος] 'Led on by:' Hom. *Od.* III. 215, *ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ ὀμφῇ.*

Λοξίεω] 'Apollinis cognomen, quod ad oraculorum responsa contorta atque ambigua relatum volunt, alii ad obliquum solis cursum.' Bähr. The former derivation is well illustrated here, but more prob. the root is λυκ (Lat. *lucere*). Stein compares Ἐρυξίας from *ἐρυκ*.

ὅκως ἂν] 75. 5, n.

§ 3. **αὗται**] *αὐταί*, 'of their own accord' (Schäfer), is not so good. With the persuasive powers here attributed to Apollo, Grote compares *μοίρας ἔπεισας ἀφθίτους θεῖναι βροτούς*, Aesch. *Eum.* 724.

τοῦτο ἐπ....ὡς...ἁλοὺς] A mixture of the two constructions *τοῦτο ἐπ. ὡς ἑάλω* and *ἐπιστάσθω ἁλούς.* Cf. *ὡς ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε*, II. 1. 2; *λέγουσιν ὡς ὀλωλότας*, Aesch. *Ag.* 658.

δεύτερα δὲ τούτων] Cf. 185. 1; VI. 46. 1; *ἐμεῖο δεύτεροι*, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 247. So even *τούτων τρίτον* in later Greek, 'a third point beyond these.' Aristot. *Eth.* VII. 11. 3.

κεσε. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος 4
μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γάρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ
Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς
ταῦτα χρῆν, εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμ-
ψαντα, κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν. οὐ 5
συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον
ἀποφαινέτω. ᾧ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε τὰ
εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμιόνου· οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ 6
Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε,
μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν 7
Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέος· ὁ δὲ
Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι· καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν
τοῖσι ἅπασι, δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνοίκεε." Ταῦτα μὲν ἡ 8
Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι· οἱ δὲ ἀνήνεικαν ἐς Σάρδις
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ
εἶναι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν
Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν
ἔσχε οὕτω.

92 Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι 1
πολλά, καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι
Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ

§ 5. **εἶπε τὰ εἶπε**] The form of expression (39. 2, n.) can hardly imply reserve here, where the oracle is represented as so triumphant in its vindication of itself. Perhaps the first εἶπε ought to be omitted (Valck.):—'the things which L. spake concerning the mule, not even that did he comprehend' (cf. περὶ αὐτοῦ...τά, II. 51. 6).

§ 6. **οὗτος**] Bähr translates 'mulus iste.' The omission of the article might be justified (9. 2, n.). But prob. the meaning is: 'this Cyrus (who fulfilled the oracle) was really a mule.'

§ 7. **τοῖσι ἅπασι**] Cf. I. 3. 'Here as there a rhetorical exaggeration.' St.

§ 8. **Ἰωνίης**] This reference to Ionia is meant to recall the real subject of the work, Croesus having been mentioned only because he was the first to enslave Greeks (5. 5; 6. 2). The three chapters which follow conclude the Λύδιος λόγος (75. 1, n.).

τὴν πρώτην] Cf. 169. 2.

CH. 92. § 1. **Ἑλλάδι**] In a wide sense, here including the Greek cities of Asia Minor. So the term comprises Sicily, VII. 157. 3; Cyrene, Rhodes, and Samos, II. 182. 1.

εἰρημένα] Chs. 50 foll.

τῇσι Βοιωτῶν] Added to distinguish it from Thebes in Egypt.

τρίπους χρ.] This temple seems to have been famous for its tripods. Cf. V. 59, 60; Pind. *Pyth.* XI. 5, *ἴθι...χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων θησαυρόν, ὃν περίαλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας Ἰσμήνιον δ' ὀνύμαξεν.*

Ἰσμηνίῳ· ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἵ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν
κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπὶς
χρυσέη μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεόντα· τὰ 2
δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων. τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι
Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε
σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι. τὰ μέν νυν ἔς τε 3
Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε, οἰκήϊά τε ἐόντα καὶ
τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα
ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ, πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι,
ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέ-
σθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω 4
μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος. Κροῖσος
μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττῃ, Πανταλέων δὲ
ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεί τε δὲ, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε τῆς 5
ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ
κνάφου ἕλκων διέφθειρε· τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον

τῶν κιόνων] This seems to imply that the temple (of Artemis) was being built.

αἱ πολλαί] We have *τὸν κίονα*, IV. 184. 6. Both genders are found in Homer.

Προνηΐης] Sc. *Ἀθηναίης*, so called, because her temple stood in front of the great temple of Apollo. *Προνοίης* has been unnecessarily suggested.

§ 2. **τὰ τῶν ἀναθ.**] *τά*, if right, repeats for the sake of clearness: 'those others, I mean, of the offerings.' But it is not unlikely, as Krüger suggests, that *τά* here has slipped in from the line above, the original reading having been: *ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καὶ ἔτι...τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων*. In the next clause supply *ἐστί* and take **Κροίσῳ** as predicate.

τῇσι Μιλησίων] So Βρ. *τὰς* M., II. 159, 3. It has been proposed to read *τῆς* in both passages (cf. I. 46. 2), since we have *τοὺς* Βρ., 158. 1. But the masc. form may refer to the family of priests, who had charge of the temple, the fem. being used when the place itself is meant. Schw.

ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθ.] These words belong to what follows (22. 2, n.).

ὅμοια] i.e. of similar material and workmanship.

§ 3. **τῶν πατρῴων χρ.**] The wealth of Croesus was prob. due mainly to the long and comparatively inactive reign of Alyattes.—Grote.

Πανταλέοντι] In construction with both *συσπεύδων* and *γενέσθαι*. P. was probably the elder brother, since Croesus was not born till the 23rd year of his father's reign (cf. 25. 1 with 26. 1). St.

§ 5. **δόντος τοῦ π.**] Acc. to Bähr, Larcher, and others, these words imply that Croesus became king during his father's lifetime. This theory may get rid of chronological difficulties (Clinton, *F. H.* II. 298), but can hardly be established from the words of Hdt.

ἔτι πρότερον] Before he became king.

κατιρώσας, τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται.
καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.
93 Θώματα δὲ γῆ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά
τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου
ψήγματος. Ἓν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται, χωρὶς
τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι 2
αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς
μέν ἐστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς.
ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ χειρώ-
νακτες, καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὖροι δέ, πέντε 3
ἐόντες, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω· καί σφι
γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο, τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο. καὶ
ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον.

κατιρώσας] i.e. having made a vow to do so. The real *κατίρωσις* did not take place till the offerings were made. St. See 164. 1, note.

ἐς τὰ] = *ἐς τὰ χωρία ἐς ἃ* (*εἴρηται* prob. being impersonal).

CH. 93. § 1. **Θώματα δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] 'Lydian soil contains no vast amount of marvels for chronicling, like another country.' Most editors insert *ἡ* (which may easily have dropped out) before *Λυδίη*, it being Hdt.'s regular practice to use the article when mentioning a country (19. 5; 73. 2; 173. 2). But possibly the meaning is that given above.

συγγραφὴν] Thus indirectly Hdt. claims the title of *συγγραφεύς*. Compare the Thucydidean use of *συνέγραψε*.

οὐ μάλα] 'Non admodum.' Schw.; 'not exactly,' Kr. See II. 37. 9, n.

οἷά τε] *qualia fere*, is Homeric, and virtually = *ὡς*, like *ἐπίκλοπον οἷά τε πολλοὺς | βόσκει γαῖα*, *Od.* XI. 365. See 14. 8, note.

καὶ ἄλλη] *καί*, which adds emphasis in direct comparisons, e.g. 'Lydia has, as other countries too have' (cf. 2. 3, n.)—is retained in cases of comparison by contrast,—'Lydia has not, as other countries too have.'

χώρη] The collective singular (179. 3, n.):—'other country' instead of 'other countries.' More usually we have the plural (193. 3; III. 107. 1).

καταφερομένου] By the Pactolus.

ἔργον] = an artificial *θῶμα*. See note on *ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά* at the beginning of the book.

χωρὶς] With *μέγιστον*,—'if we put aside.'

§ 2. **αὐτόθι**] In Lydia. So *αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω* = *ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρῃ*, IV. 9. 6.

σῆμα] This monument still exists near the ruins of ancient Sardis. In 1853 the interior was explored by M. Spiegenthal, Prussian Consul at Smyrna, and a sepulchral chamber was discovered composed of large blocks of polished marble. The mound has an external circumference of about half a mile (Abicht).

§ 3. **οὖροι**] 'Land-marks,' i.e. pillars of stone; so called because they marked off the separate portions of the work done by each class of labourers.

γράμματα ἐν.] (sc. *λέγοντα*), *τὰ* (= *ἅτινα ἔργα*) *ἕκαστοι ἐξεργ.*

ἕκαστοι]. Each of these classes (26. 4, n.).

Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, 4
συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι, τοῦτο
ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος 5
τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἓξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρός
ἐστι πλέθρα τριακαίδεκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος
μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη
Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι.

94 Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ 1
Ἕλληνες, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι.
πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ
ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι
ἐγένοντο. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας, τὰς νῦν 2
σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας, ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι.
ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι, 3
καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ
Ἄτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν
Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι· καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν
λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίζησθαι·
ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὦν 4
τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων, καὶ τῆς σφαίρης
καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἴδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν.
τούτων γὰρ ὦν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηϊεῦνται Λυδοί. ποιέειν 5

§ 4. **ἐκδ. δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς**] Because they find their own dowry. Cf. 196. 6.

§ 5. **εἰσὶ**] See 163. 4, n.

CH. 94. § 1. **πρῶτοι...νόμισμα**] See Rawlinson, *App. Bk.* I., *Note B.*

κάπηλοι] Homer represents the Maeonians as trading with the Trojans (*Il.* XVIII. 290), and as skilled in the art of staining ivory (*Il.* IV. 141). Cf. II. 167. 1, n.

§ 3. **ἀποικίσαι**] Supply *σφέας* from *παρὰ σφίσι*. Stein reads *ἀποικίσθαι*.

Ἄτυος τοῦ Μ.] The two sons of Atys were the *ἐπώνυμοι* of the Lydians (7. 4) and Tyrrhenians, and his nephew *Ἀσίης* (IV. 45. 4) the *ἐπώνυμος* of Asia, acc. to the Lydian legends.

διάγειν λιπ.] 'Lived on and held out.' *λιπ.* here denotes persistence in suffering; usually in Hdt. persistence in action of any kind, not merely in entreaties.

παύεσθαι] 24. 11, n.

§ 4. **κύβων κ.τ.λ.**] Three of these games are mentioned in Homer. Nausicaa plays with the *σφαῖρα* (*Od.* VI. 100), the suitors with *πεσσοί* (*Od.* I. 107), and Patroclus, when a boy, killed a playfellow, *ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς* (*Il.* XXIII. 88). The *κύβοι* (*tesserae*) seem to have been a later development of the *ἀστράγαλοι* (*tali*). The former had all six sides numbered, while the latter were at first without numbers, and afterwards necessarily only numbered on four sides.

δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας· τὴν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν
ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία· τὴν
δὲ ἑτέρην σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ
τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπεί τε δὲ 6
οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω
δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν, δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων,
κληρῶσαι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης.
καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων 7
ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσο-
μένῃ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας 8
δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καταβῆναι ἐς
Σμύρνην, καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ
πάντα ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου
τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν· ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους
ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς· ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας,
καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετουνομασθῆναι 9
αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδὸς, ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε· ἐπὶ
τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους οὐνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνούς.
Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι δεδούλωντο.

95 Ἐπιδίζηται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον, 1

§ 6. **Λυδῶν**] After verbs of division Hdt. either puts the whole in the gen. and the parts in the accus. (cf. II. 4. 1), or both parts and whole in the accus. (II. 147. 2), or the whole in the accus. and the parts in the accus. with κατά (I. 132. 4).

§ 8. **ἐπίπλοα**] The occurrence of πλοῖα above seems to have modified the form of this word in the MSS. Elsewhere (150. 3; 164. 4) the form is ἔπιπλα ('=τὰ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς σκεύη, ἡ ἐπιπόλαιος κτῆσις').

Ὀμβρικούς] A very indefinite region, apparently coextensive with Northern Italy: cf. IV. 49. 4.

§ 9. **ἀνήγαγε**] Krüg. suggests ἀπήγαγε. But if it is necessary to have a definite explanation of the prep., ἀν- may denote either (1) the putting out to sea, in which sense however ναῦν is generally expressed or understood, or (2) the march into the interior on their arrival (ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα, VI. 119. 1). Cf. στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, VII. 10. 22; λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν (from Greece to Troy), Hom. *Il.* IX. 338. 'Led up' need not mean much more than 'led forth.'

Τυρσηνούς] For an examination of the legend, see Smith's *Dict. Geogr. Etruria;* Mommsen, *Hist. Rome*, I. 129. The Latin poets were fond of alluding to this supposed origin of the Etruscans: Hor. *Sat.* I. 6. 1; Virg. *Aen.* II. 781; Statius, *Silv.* IV. 4. 6; Plaut. *Curc.* I. 2. 63.

CH. 95. § 1. **ὁ λόγος**] Not here used of any detached portion of the work (75. 1, note) but of the general plan of his narrative (II. 123. 1). Cf. προσθήκας γὰρ δή μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο, IV. 30. 1. The present λόγος (which properly finishes

ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας,
ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. Ὡς ὦν Περσέων μετεξέ- 2
τεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον,
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω· ἐπιστά-
μενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.
Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ 3
πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι·
καί κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυ-
ρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δου-
λοσύνην ἠλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα 4
ἔθνεα ἐποίεε τὠυτὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι. Ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων
πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἤπειρον, ὧδε αὖτις ἐς τυραννίδας περιῆλθον.
96 Ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης. 1
παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης, ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος,
ἐποίεε τοιάδε. Κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν 2
τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος, καὶ μᾶλλόν τι καὶ

at the end of ch. 130) gives the story of Cyrus with an account of the rise of the Median and Persian empires. To this however is appended an account of Persian customs (chs. 131—140), corresponding to the digression on Lydian ἔργα and νόμοι (chs. 93, 94); and afterwards the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Harpagus (chs. 141—176) and the campaigns of Cyrus against the Assyrians and the Massagetae (177—216) are tacked on to the present λόγος (cf. ἄνειμι ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον, 140. 5). Thus the programme laid down here (τόν τε Κῦρον...Ἀσίης) is completely carried out.

ἡγήσαντο] 13. 3, note.

§ 2. **τριφασίας ἄλλας**] The commentators identify these with the accounts given by Ctesias (*Pers. Fr.* 635), Xenophon (*Cyrop.*), and Aeschylus (*Pers.* 770).

φῆναι] Cf. ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον, 116. 7.

§ 3. **Ἀσσυρίων**] i.e. the inhabitants of Nineveh (102. 4: cf. 178. 2, n.).

ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ π.] B.C. 1230—711, Clinton.

πρῶτοι...ἤρξαντο] Cf. 2. 1, n.

ἐγένοντο] 'Proved themselves.' οὐ μέν τι κασιγνήτοιο χερείων | γίγνεται, ὅς κεν ἑταῖρος ἐὼν πεπνυμένα εἰδῇ, Hom. *Od.* VIII. 585. κως implies that Hdt. had no trustworthy account of the details.

§ 4. **Ἐόντων...περιῆλθον**] For the gen. abs., see 3. 3. The words αὐτονόμων and τυραννίδας are used from the point of view of a Greek. Cf. II. 147. 2, n.

CH. 96. § 1. **Δηϊόκης**] 'The story of D. describes what may be called the despot's progress, first as candidate and afterwards as fully established.' Grote, *H. G.* II. 415 (III. 310). Two or three MSS. omit chs. 96—100 inclus., giving in their place a short summary of the facts contained in them.

§ 2. **κατὰ κώμας**] i.e. without any common political centre (cf. ἓν πόλισμα, 98. 4): a state of things quite opposed to Asiatic experience. Compare the state of Attica before Theseus, Thuc. II. 15. 2. See below, 170. 4, note.

προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκεε· καὶ ταῦτα
μέντοι, ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικήν,
ἐποίεε ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιόν ἐστι.
οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους,
δικαστήν μιν ἑωυτῶν αἱρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δή, οἷα μνεώμενος
ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν. ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον 3
εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιτέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθα-
νόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κώμῃσι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἴη ἀνὴρ
μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες
ἀδίκοισι γνώμῃσι, τότε ἐπεί τε ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτεον
παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι· τέλος δέ, οὐδενὶ
97 ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπι- 1
φοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ
τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον, οὔτε
κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε,
οὔτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι. οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν, τῶν ἑωυτοῦ 2
ἐξημεληκότα, τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐούσης ὦν 3
ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ
πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τὠυτό, καὶ ἐδίδοσαν
σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ 4
δοκέω μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι· "Οὐ γὰρ δή,

ἐπιθέμενος] Supply *δικαιοσύνῃ*. A converse instance is *φείσασθαι οἴκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας*, Thuc. III. 59. 1, where *οἶκτον* has to be supplied after *λαβόντας*.

ἐούσης] 'Though there was etc., and though he knew that the just has the unjust for an enemy.'

§ 3. **πολιτέων**] So all the MSS. (Schw.). Cf. II. 3. 3, n.

περιπίπτοντες] The unjust judgments are viewed as misfortunes: cf. *οὗτοι μέν νυν τοιαύτῃσι περιέπιπτον τύχῃσι*, VI. 16. 2 (St.).

δικασόμενοι] Middle voice: 'to get judgment given.'

CH. 97. § 1. **τοῦ ἐπιφοιτ.**] The (collective) neut. sing. = the masc. plur. Cf. *τὸ ἀνθρώπινον*, 86. 6; *τοῦ ἀποθανόντος*, 140. 1; *εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψεαι*, VII. 209. 6.

ἀνακείμενον] 'Referred to himself as judge,' (cf. III. 31. 4):—used as the perfect passive of *ἀνατίθημι* (14. 3, n). Compare the use of *ἀνατίθημι*, II. 134. 1; 135. 3: = 'refer to (as author),' 'ascribe to (as possessor).'

προκατίζων] See 14. 5, n.

δικᾶν] The future: = *δικάσειν*. So *ἀποδοκιμᾷ*, 199. 8.

§ 3. **σφίσι**] = *ἑωυτοῖς* (3. 3. n.), = *ἀλλήλοις*.

τῶν κατηκόντων] Lit. 'that which came home to them—applied to them,' and so (= *τῶν κατεστεώτων*) 'their present circumstances.' VII. 104. 1, *ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτῃσι*, 'I told you the state of the case with the Spartans.' This use is unattic.

§ 4. **μάλιστα**] Not 'were foremost in speaking,' but 'spoke to

τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι, δυνατοί εἰμεν οἰκέειν τὴν
χώρην· φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἥ
τε χώρη εὐνομήσεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ
ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα." Ταῦτά κῃ λέγοντες πεί-
98 θουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων 1
ὅν τινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ
παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ
τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε 2
αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληΐης οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ
κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι· 3
οἰκοδομέουσί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα
αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρης, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι
ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. Ὁ δέ, ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, 4
τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἓν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο
περιστέλλοντας, τῶν ἄλλων ἧσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων 5
δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων, οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ
καρτερά, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ
κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, 6
ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι

this effect,'—this more than anything else expressed their view. *μάλιστα*, in this sense of *fere*, usually has *κῃ* (*κου*) joined with it by Hdt. Here *κῃ* comes later.

γάρ] See 8. 1, n.

ἡμέων αὐτῶν] Partitive gen.

ἔργα] Larcher restricts this to agricultural pursuits (36. 1, n.), but cf. Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 55, where Achilles bids Agamemnon pile a heap of wood that thus the body of Patroclus may be burned, *λαοὶ δ' ἐπὶ ἔργα τράπωνται*. Prob. here, as there, *ἔργα* has a perfectly general sense. Cf. II. 129. 1.

κῃ] (=*μάλιστα*, above) implies that the speech is imaginary.

CH. 98. § 1. **πολλὸς**] 'Frequens ab unoquoque viro proponebatur et laudabatur.' Bähr. So *πλεῖστος*, 120. 5; *παντοῖος*, IX. 109. 4.

ἐς ὃ] 'And at last:' 158. 3, note.

§ 2. **αὐτὸν**] (not *ἑωυτόν*) because *αὐτούς* is the subject of *κρατῦναι* (see note on *αὐτῷ*, 86. 6).

§ 5. **ταῦτα τὰ νῦν**] 'Those, I mean, which.' *ταῦτα* is added as an afterthought, and so there is no need of an article with *τείχεα*.

Ἀγβάτανα] In the Behistun Inscription (125. 5, n.) the word is Hagmatána. 'In the Greek poets the last three syllables are short, yet there cannot be a doubt that the natives called the city Hagmatán.' Rawlinson.

ἕτερον] Agrees with *κύκλον* understood, the part being put in apposition with the whole (*τείχεα*). See II. 41. 4, note. For the collocation, cf. *ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος*, 102. 3; 'sordidus a tenui victu distabit,' Hor. *Sat.* II. 2. 53 (St.). The same idiom is involved in the phrase *ἐναντίην γνώμῃ*, 207. 1.

§ 6. **τεῖχος**] 'Stronghold,' thus including all the *τείχεα* mentioned above. Cf. 80. 8; II. 118. 3.

ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μέν κου τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει, 7
κολωνὸς ἐόν, ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι· τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἐπε-
τηδεύθη, κύκλων ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά· ἐν δὲ τῷ
τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλήϊα ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν 8
μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κῃ
τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές
εἰσι λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου
φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι.
οὕτω πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠνθισμένοι εἰσὶ 9
φαρμάκοισι. δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοί εἰσι ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμέ-
νους, ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

99 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἑωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ 1

§ 7. **τὸ μέν κου τι**] '*κου* has the force of an opt. with *ἄν*, i. e. it implies a mere conjecture on the part of Hdt.' St.

ἐὸν] More usually the participle of *εἰμί* is put in construction with the predicate: e.g. 68. 4.

μᾶλλόν τι] 'To a still (*καί*) greater extent' (cf. 114. 4; 117. 1); i. e. art has done even more than nature. Schw. suggests that *τι* may go with *τὸ δέ*, so as to answer to *τὸ μέν τι* above, but the order is against this.

κύκλων ἐόντων κ.τ.λ.] '*Since* there are seven,' &c. The meaning seems to be that the arrangement of *so many* walls in this way implied considerable skill.

θησαυροί] 'Treasure-*houses*,' as at 14. 4. 'Hdt. prob. obtained his information from the Medes he met with at Babylon.' See *Dict. Geogr. Ecbatana.*

§ 8. **τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγ.**] The partitive genitive inserted between article and subst. See 165. 1, n.

κατὰ] 'About the same in size as:' lit. 'after the standard of:' cf. *κατὰ Μιθριδάτην*, ch. 121. *ὁ κύκλος* was the regular phrase for the ring-wall at Athens (Thuc. II. 13. 8). In the oracle given by Hdt., VII. 140. 2, Athens is called *πόλις τροχοειδής*. The fortified portion of the *κύκλος* was 43 stadia in length (Thuc. *l. c.*): the remainder acc. to the Scholiast 17: total 60 stadia.

λευκοί] 'The seven colours here mentioned are precisely those employed by the Orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies, Saturn being black, Jupiter orange, Mars scarlet, the sun golden, Venus white, Mercury azure, and the moon green,—a hue which is applied by the Orientals to silver.' Rawlinson. Compare the myth (also of Eastern origin) in Plato's *Rep.* (X. 616 *e.*) where we have the motions of the heavenly bodies represented by *eight* (i.e. the earth is included) concentric rings, with rims rising in height from the circumference to the centre, —*κύκλους ἄνωθεν τὰ χείλη φαίνοντας*. The colours however are much modified. Jupiter is a bright, and Mercury a dull, white; Saturn and Venus are *ξανθότερα ἐκείνων*, and Mars is *ὑπέρυθρον*.

§ 9. **φαρμάκοισι**] '*Assyrio* fucatur lana *veneno*,' Virg. *Georg.* II. 465.

δύο δὲ οἱ τελ.] 'Two, the last' = 'the two last.' Cf. *δύο τὰ μέγιστα*, VII. 47. 4; *πέντε τῶν δοκίμων*, 'the five chief,' VII. 129. 3.

καταργυρωμένους] 'Silvered *over*.' So *κατακηροῦν*, 140. 2; *καταχαλκοῦν*, VI. 50. 4.

ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος
οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων, κόσμον τόνδε Δηιόκης 2
πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησάμενος· μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα
μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαί τε βασιλέα
ὑπὸ μηδενός· πρός τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν
ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ 3
ἑωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν μὴ | ὁρέοντες οἱ
ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ, καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυροτέρης, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, | λυπεοίατο καὶ
ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὁρέουσι.

100 Ἐπεί τε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἑωυτὸν τῇ 1
τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τάς τε
δίκας γράφοντες εἴσω παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον· καὶ ἐκεῖνος
διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας, ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ 2
τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε· τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ. εἴ τινα

CH. 99. § 2. **κόσμον**] 'Etiquette.' Krüg. For *τόνδε*, see 9. 2, note.

μήτε...τε] See 63. 3. We may compare the ceremonialism of the Siamese court at the present day.

χρέεσθαι] 'Consult' (47. 3, n.). Bähr takes *πάντα* as the masc. sing. (= *ἕκαστον*). But in this sense Hdt. generally uses *πᾶς τις*, e.g. 50. 2; III. 79. 1, or *πᾶς ἀνήρ*, e.g. 98. 1; II. 95. 3. (At VII. 197. 3, *στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθείς*, prob. *πᾶς* = *totus*.) It is better therefore here to take *πάντα* as the neut. plur. in an adverbial sense (155. 3), and to supply *τινά* from *μηδένα* as the subject of *χρέεσθαι*. 'After *ἀντίον* prob. *τινός* not *βασιλέος* is to be supplied: cf. 133. 4.' Krüg. This explanation is confirmed by *καὶ ἅπασι* = (not merely for the *ἄγγελοι* in the king's presence but) also for all. *τοῦτό γε* is added pleonastically for the sake of emphasis (II. 68. 5, n.).

§ 3. **ἐσέμνυνε**] 'Habitu se augustiorem fecit' (of Romulus), Livy, I. 8. 1 (St.). 'Hedged himself round with this state.'

ὅκως ἂν] 75. 5, note.

CH. 100. § 1. **τῇ τυραννίδι**] 'For his despotism.' Strictly these words only belong to *διεκόσμησε*. Cf. 59. 1 (St.).

γράφοντες] 'That the Medes should be familiar with writing before 700 B.C. is nothing wonderful; but that a Greek historian should mention the use of letters as an ordinary matter is worthy of remark.' Clinton. Prob. Hdt. uses the word here simply because *δ. γράφειν* was the regular (Athenian) phrase for bringing an action (Bähr).

ἐσπέμπεσκον] Hdt. rarely omits the syllabic augment except (1) in the pluperf., e.g. *δεδούλωτο*, 94. 9 (this is not uncommon in Attic), and (2) in the imperf. and 2nd aor., when, as here, the form in *σκον* is used: cf. *λάβεσκε*, IV. 78. 5; *φεύγεσκον*, VII. 211. 3; also 19. 1, note.

§ 2. **ἐκεκοσμέατο**] The plural verb. after a neut. subst. is not uncommon in Hdt. (cf. 139. 2; II. 138. 1; III. 88. 4; al.). Possibly some instances may be explained by supposing a sort of personification (see II. 96. 4, note), and others by emphasizing the plurality of the parts (I. 139. 2, n.). But other cases

πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ'
ἀξίην ἑκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίευ· καί οἱ κατάσκοποί τε
καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἦρχε.
101 Δηϊόκης μέν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον,
καὶ τούτου ἦρξε. ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βουσαὶ,
Παρητακηνοὶ, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοὶ, Βούδιοι, Μάγοι. γέ-
102 νεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε. Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται 1
Φραόρτης, ὃς, τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία
καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν. παραδεξά- 2
μενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μούνων ἄρχειν τῶν Μήδων· ἀλλὰ
στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι
ἐπεθήκατο, καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ 3
δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα, καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρὰ, κατεστρέ-
φετο τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος. ἐς ὃ 4
στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους
οἳ Νῖνον εἶχον καὶ ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν
μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων, ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέν-
τοι ἑωυτῶν εὖ ἥκοντες· ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ
Φραόρτης αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ
ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.
103 Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ 1
Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι 2

remain (e.g. where, as at II. 138. 1, both sing. and plur. verbs are used of the same subject), which no more admit of these elaborate explanations, than do the instances of this idiom in Homer.

ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο] See note, 17. 4.

καί οἱ] *οἱ* is the dative of the pronoun: cf. 103. 5.

κατάσκοποι] See note, 114. 2.

CH. 101. **συνέστρεψε**] This = *ἠνάγκασε ἓν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι*, 98. 4; hitherto the different *γένεα* had been under semi-independent chieftains. The second *τοσάδε* refers to what precedes, cf. *τάδε*, 117. 4; *ὧδε*, 126. 7; *τοιῷδε*, 180. 1. This use is esp. common, when the same word is also used in the same sentence to refer to what follows. Conversely we find *οὗτος* (*τοιοῦτος*) of what follows: 125. 1; 178. 2, etc.

CH. 102. § 1. **παρεδέξατο**] B.C. 656, Clinton: 658, Grote, who places the commencement of Median *history* at this point. Ph. was named after his grandfather (96. 1).

§ 4. **καὶ Ἀσσυρίων**] *καί* has an explanatory or restrictive force: 'those Assyrians, I mean, who.' The name *Ἀσσύριοι* is applied by Hdt. to the Babylonians as well (178. 1), who were on friendly terms with the Medes (74. 5).

ἑωυτῶν] 'At home,' as opposed to their loss of foreign power.

εὖ ἥκοντες] See 30. 8, n.

CH. 103. § 1. **Κυαξάρης**] B.C. 636—595. Grote.

γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων· καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τούς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμὶξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. Οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσί ἐστι μαχεσάμενος, 3
ὅτε νὺξ ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ. Συλλέξας δὲ 4
τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νῖνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καί οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, 5
περικατημένῳ τὴν Νῖνον, ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης, Πρωτοθύεω παῖς· οἳ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι,
104 οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἀπίκοντο. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς 1
λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ 2
πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἀλλὰ ἓν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες· τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι

§ 2. **ἐλόχισε κατὰ τ.**] 'Set them in companies, by troops.' The λόχος in its technical sense (e.g. IX. 53. 2) was a smaller and prob. a more definite division of an army than the τέλος.

§ 3. **ὅτε νὺξ κ.τ.λ.**] See 74. 2.

ἄνω] i.e. to the east of: cf. 130. 1, where ἄνω precedes its case.

Ἀσίην πᾶσαν] Used without any very definite meaning (cf. 104. 4; 130. 4). Strictly speaking, the phrase would include the Ἀράβιοι and the Ἰνδοί (IV. 39, 40) who were independent in the time of Cambyses and Darius (III. 7. 2; IV. 44. 3). Cf. τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, IV. 44. 1.

συστήσας ἑ.] This seems to imply a league with C. as president.

§ 4. **τὴν Νῖνον**] Its fem. gender serves to distinguish it from the mythical hero Ninus (7. 3: cf. 'conveniunt ad busta *Nini*,' Ov. *Met.* VIII. 88). The names of cities and countries in -ος, -ου are generally feminine on the analogy of νῆσος &c., but where there is no analogy to justify the fem., the genders follow the termination, e.g. τὰ Λεῦκτρα, τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ Σελινοῦς.

§ 5. **Κιμμερίους**] See 6. 4; 15. 2; IV. 11. 1.

οὕτω] simply repeats ἐπισπόμενοι. Cf. II. 84. 4.

CH. 104. § 1. **Μαιήτιδος**] We have Μαιῶτιν, IV. 3. 2. The position of the Palus Maeotis (mod. *Sea of Azov*) in Hdt.'s geography is described, IV. 99—101: that of the Phasis (mod. *Rion*), IV. 37, 45, 86.

τριήκοντα] The distance between the two is but little more than the distance called a five days' journey at 72. 3, but the difficulties of the route would be much greater.

§ 2. **ὑπερβῆναι**] Prob. implies more than the mere crossing of the borders: ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρη πρὸς Σαπειρων ὀρεινή ἐστι κάρτα, 110. 3.

εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέ- 3
βαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκ-
τραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον οὖρος. ἐνθαῦτα 4
οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι καὶ ἑσσωθέντες
τῇ μάχῃ, τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν
105 Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤϊσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπ- 1
τον· καὶ ἐπεί τε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμ-
μήτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε
καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ 2
δέ, ἐπεί τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω, ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν
Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων
ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς
Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς 3
ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα

εἶναι] Supply ἔστι (= ἔξεστι) from οὐ πολλόν (ἐστι) above (Kr.). Or οὐ πολλόν (ἐστι) = ῥηΐδιόν ἐστι, and this notion governs εἶναι (St.).

§ 3. **τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν**] Hdt. seems to mean that the Cimmerians went along the eastern shore of the Black Sea (to the west of Mount Caucasus), and so passed into Asia Minor through Colchis, while the Scythians followed the more circuitous route along the shore of the Caspian, to the east of Mount Caucasus (to the east of the Caspian acc. to Stein), and further inland (κατύπερθε) from the Black Sea: cf. ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες, IV. 12. 4. But there are great difficulties, for (1) the eastern shore of the Black Sea is impracticable, and hence Niebuhr suggests that the Cimmerians entered Asia Minor by the western shore, (2) the pursuit is in itself improbable after the abandonment of the territory, and (3) the mistake in the route (ἁμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ, IV. 12. 3) still more so. Grote, *H. G.* II. 430 (III. 335). ὁδόν is a quasi-cognate accus. as if the simple verb τραπέσθαι had been used. Cf. ἀπερέοντα ῥῆσιν, 152. 4.

ἐπέσχον] 'Spread over,' like ἑπτὰ δ' ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα, Hom. *Il.* XXI. 407.

CH. 105. § 1. **Ψαμμήτιχος**] He may have been besieging Azotus at the time (II. 157. 1), but ἀντιάσας is rather against this, since Ascalon is south of Azotus.

τὸ προσωτέρω] So we have τὸ πρόσω (5. 5), but τὰ προσωτάτω, on the analogy of τὸ μᾶλλον, τὰ μάλιστα. With the form προσωτέρω, cf. θειοτέρως (122. 3, n.).

§ 2. **ἀσινέων**] Here probably in an active sense.

τῆς Οὐραν. Ἀφρ.] Hdt. calls by this name a deity worshipped under various titles in the East. Cf. 131. 3; IV. 59. 4. In the same sense we have τὴν οὐρανίην by itself, III. 8. 2. In Plato's *Sympos.* (180 *d*) two Aphrodites are mentioned, 'the elder one, born of no mother, daughter of heaven, to whom therefore we give the title of 'heavenly' (οὐρανίην); the younger one, daughter of Zeus and Dione' &c. The Muse *Urania* is first mentioned by Hesiod, *Theog.* 78.

§ 3. **πυνθανόμενος**] Hdt. prob. went to Ascalon to enquire, just as he went to Tyre for a similar object (II. 44. 1). St.

ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν 4
ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριοι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι
Φοίνικές εἰσι οἱ ἱδρυσάμενοι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἐόντες.
τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι, 5
καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλεαν
νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτό σφεας
νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν
Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς διακέαται, τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας οἱ
106 Σκύθαι. Ἐπὶ μέν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς 1
Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπό τε ὕβριος καὶ
ὀλιγωρίης ἀνάστατα ἦν. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων ἔπρησσον
παρ' ἑκάστων, τὸ ἑκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον· χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ
φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι.
καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι 2
ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω
ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι, καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ
πρότερον. καὶ τήν τε Νῖνον εἷλον, (ὡς δὲ εἷλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι 3

§ 4. **τὸ ἐν Κ. ἱρὸν**] At Paphos. Tacitus gives a description of the image there (*Hist.* II. 3. 5).

ταύτης] Added to distinguish this Syria from the country of the Cappadocians (6. 1 : 72. 1).

§ 5. **ἡ θεὸς**] Some MSS. have ὁ θεός. See II. 133, 2, n.

θήλεαν ν.] 'Smote them with disease, that they became women instead of men.' Hippocrates (cotemp. with Hdt.) discusses the matter (*de Aer. Aq. et Loc.*, 22).

ἅμα] can hardly go with λέγουσι in the sense of 'concur in saying.' It must therefore couple the two clauses διὰ τοῦτό σφεας νοσέειν, and ὁρᾶν...ὡς διακέαται,—'state at one and the same time both the former cause and the present observed effects.' τε is out of its place.

τοὺς ἀπικν.] i.e. travellers who visit Scythia. Thus τοὺς ἀπ. is the subject of ὁρᾶν, and the nom. to διακέαται is οὗτοι, τοὺς καλέουσι κ.τ.λ.

Ἐναρέας]=ἀνδρογύνους, IV. 67. 3. Hippocrates translates it by ἀνανδριέας.

CH. 106. § 1. **σφι**] 'Through them,' because ἀνάστατα ἦν is equivalent to a passive verb (St.).

χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Hdt. means that the Scythians employed three modes of levying supplies:—(1) the regular tribute, φόρος, φόροι, (2) an extraordinary impost, ἔπρησσον κ.τ.λ., (3) irregular pillage, ἥρπαζον κ.τ.λ. With the repetition, cf. πρώτοισί τε...καὶ πρώτους, 102. 2. Reiske proposed φόρον ('as tribute') for φόρων. Krüg. also omits τοῦ φόρου, so that χωρὶς μέν—χ. δέ=*partim—partim*. Blakesley reads χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων (ἔπρησσον γὰρ ἑκάστων τὸ ἑκάστοισι ἐπιβάλλον) κ.τ.λ., but we should have expected ἑκάστους on this view (instead of ἑκάστων), as at III. 58. 4. There is no real reason for altering the text. Though Hdt. uses τὸ ἐπιβάλλον (IV. 115. 1), the transitive ἐπέβαλλον may be justified by ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη, VI. 93. 3; φυγὴν ἐπιβαλών, VII. 3. 1.

§ 3. **καὶ τήν τε Ν.**] καί here seems to correspond to μέν (τούτων μέν, above): like Homer's κάρτιστοι

λόγοισι δηλώσω,) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιή-
σαντο, πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 4
Κυαξάρης μὲν βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, σὺν τοῖσι
Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

107 Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης, ὁ Κυαξάρεω παῖς, τὴν βασι- 1
ληΐην. καί οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην.
τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον, ὥστε 2
πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν
Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπό- 3
λοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη, παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην, ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην, 4
Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς
τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσῃ διδοῖ, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν
εὕρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῷ

μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο (*Il.* I. 267). So we have *μέν* followed by *ἀτάρ*, II. 92. 2; cf. *ἡμεῖς μὲν*... *Ἕκτορ, ἀτὰρ σὺ* (*Il.* VI. 84).

εἷλον] 606 B.C., Clinton.

ἑτέροισι λόγ.] An allusion to the *Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι* (184. 1, n.).

πλὴν τῆς Βαβ.] According to later authorities the Babylonians actually assisted the Medes at the siege. Cf. 74. 5.

§ 4. **σὺν τοῖσι**] = *σὺν τούτοις τά*, 'counting those during which.' For the fate of the Scythians after their retreat, see IV. 1—4.

CH. 107 § 1. **Ἀστυάγης**] 595 B.C. For the story of Cyrus, see Grote III. 157 (IV. 247). 'This only is historically true that the daughter of king Astyages of Media was married to Cambyses, a vassal prince, or some Persian of rank.' Niebuhr.

ἔθετο] So *θεμένη*, 113. 5. The middle voice, because the child is regarded as a part of the parent:—*τὸ τέκνον ἕως ἂν ᾖ πηλίκον καὶ μὴ χωρισθῇ, ὥσπερ μέρος αὐτοῦ*, Aristot. *Eth.* V. (6). 8.

§ 3. **αὐτὰ ἕκαστα**] Blakesley compares *Daniel*, II. 3, foll., where the king merely states that he has had a dream and expects the soothsayers to tell him the details of it. On this view *αὐτὰ ἕκαστα* would = the exact incidents of the dream, one by one, and it would be possible to retain the MS. reading *ὑποθέμενος*,—having laid down the fact of the dream, as a *basis* on which they might employ their art. But it is prob. better to accept *ὑπερθέμενος* (cf. 108. 3) and understand by *αὐτὰ ἕκαστα* (= *αὐθέκαστα*), 'the plain truth' as opposed to the symbolism of the dream. Stein quotes *καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι μηδὲν αἰνικτηρίως, ἀλλ' αὐθέκαστ' ἔκφραζε*, Aesch. *Prom.* 950. For the use of the plur. without any thing definite to which it can refer, see 9. 1, note.

§ 4. **ὁ δὲ Π.**] For *Πέρσῃ δέ*. This insertion of the pronoun with *δέ* is common in Hdt., esp. when the antecedent clause with *μέν* is negative. Cf. 17. 4; 171. 2; 196. 4.

διδοῖ] Cf. *ἱστᾷ* (= *ἵστησι*) IV. 103. 3; *τιθεῖ*, I. 113. 2.

οἰκίης ἀγαθῆς] the Achaemenidae. Cf. 125. 5; 209. 3; Xerxes derives his descent from Achaemenes through Cyrus and the elder Cambyses, VII. 11. 3.

τρόπου] 'Turn of mind.'

108 ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου. Συνοικεούσης δὲ 1
τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτεϊ
εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. ἐδόκεε δέ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς 2
ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην
πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, 3
μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν.
ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε, βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς 4
διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι
ἐσήμαινον, ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύ-
σειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, 5
ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἅρπαγον, ἄνδρα οἰκήϊον καὶ
πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ,
ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε· "Ἅρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, 6
μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ· μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ, καὶ ἄλλους
ἑλόμενος, ἐξ ὑστέρης σοι ἑωυτῷ περιπέσῃς. λάβε τὸν 7
Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον·
μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεῳ αὐτὸς βούλεαι." Ὁ δὲ ἀμει- 8

μέσου] Cf. *μέσος πολίτης* (Thuc. VI. 54. 2), which the Scholiast explains by *οὔτε ἐπιφανὴς οὔτε ἄδοξος*.

CH. 108. § 4. **ἐκ γάρ οἱ**] Cf. I. 4, n.

§ 5. **ἐγένετο**] 'Was born.' So 133. 1; II. 82. 1.

Ἅρπαγον] Cf. 80. 2; 162. 1.

οἰκήϊον]. *Necessarium*, not *familiarem*. Cf. *συγγενής ἐστιν ὁ παῖς*, 109. 3. Being a Mede, Harpagus could only be related to Cyrus through the daughter of Astyages (Larch.).

§ 6. **παραχρήσῃ**] 'Treat by the way,' 'treat lightly.' So *παρακούσας* 'having heard by the way,' 'having chanced to hear,' III. 129. 4. Cf. *παροράω*, *πάρεργον*. The accus. on the analogy of *ἀμελέω*, *παροράω*. Compare the dat. after *νομίζειν* on the analogy of *χρῆσθαι*, (II. 40. 4); and the gen. after *πείθεσθαι* on the analogy of *ἀκούειν* (I. 126. 6). Or the accus. *πρῆγμα* here may be explained by the attraction of the relative, *τό*.

παραβάλῃ] Cf. *ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοιτο*, Thuc. I. 133. In both passages the word has been rendered 'deceive,' but the more simple meaning 'expose to risk' (lit. 'lay down as one's stake, to match (*παρα-*) the opponent's stake') makes sufficiently good sense.

ἄλλους] i. e. Mandane and Cambyses: cf. 109. 4.

ἐξ ὑστέρης] Cf. *ἐκ νέης*, 60. 3; *ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης* II. 161. 6; *τὴν ταχίστην*, I. 24. 5. The existence of *ταύτῃ*, *ᾗ*, *πῇ* &c. proves that this idiomatic use of the feminine was of very early origin. Here Schw. unnecessarily supplies *ἀρχῆς*.

σοι ἑωυτῷ] if right = *σεωυτῷ*. But there is some doubt about the reading. So at IV. 97. 6 some MSS. read *τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἄν με ἑωυτοῦ εἵνεκεν*, 'for my own sake.' The idiom is common 'only in the plural: the instances in the singular are mostly uncertain readings.' Jelf, *G. G.* 754 *b*.

βεται· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρεῖδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε
ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα
χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω
109 γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως." Τού- 1
τοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἅρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον
κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἤιε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρ-
ελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος
ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· "Νῦν ὦν τί σοι ἐν 2
νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;" Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· "Οὐκ ᾗ ἐνετέλλετο
Ἀστυάγης· οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανεῖται κάκιον ἢ
νῦν μαίνεται, οὔ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐδὲ ἐς
φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω 3
μιν· καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστιν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι
Ἀστυάγης μέν ἐστι γέρων, καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου. εἰ δὲ 4
ἐθελήσει, τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην
ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς, ἧς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο
τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ

§ 8. **ἀνδρὶ τῷδε**] Instead of *ἐμοί*, 'with tragic pathos.' St. For *οὔτε—δέ*, cf. *τε—δέ*, II. 126. 2, n.

τό γε ἐμὸν] It is right for me and mine (whatever others may do). VIII. 140. 3, *ἢν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον* (= *ὑμεῖς*) *ἀντίον γένηται*. *δή* marks the apodosis, = 'then.'

CH. 109. § 1. **τὴν ἐπὶ θαν.**] So III. 119. 3, *ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ*. Constructions of this kind stand on a different footing from mere adverbial uses of the fem. (e. g. *ἐξ ὑστέρης*, 108. 6), and may fairly be explained by supposing the omission of some fem. subst. Here we may either supply *ὁδόν* on the analogy of *τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι*, VII. 223. 3, or (more prob.) take a cogn. accus. (*κόσμησιν*) from the verb (Schw.). Cf. *τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι* (sc. *στολήν*) VII. 62. 1; *τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι* (sc. *σκευήν*) VII. 84. *κεκοσμημένον* is explained by 111. 5; 112. 5.

Ἀστυάγ.] The possessive gen. used instead of *ὑπό* or *ἐξ*. Cf. II. 18. 1.

§ 2. **οὔ οἱ**] Notice the Homeric hiatus, like *οὔ οἱ ἀεικές* (*Il.* XV. 496), as if there were still a reminiscence of the digamma. The Ionic dialect takes no trouble to avoid a hiatus: e. g. it does not use the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*.

§ 3. **ἄπαις ἔρσ. γόνου**] So V. 36. 3, *ναυκράτεες τῆς θαλάσσης*. Hom. *Od.* IV. 788, *κεῖτ' ἄρ' ἄσιτος ἄπαστος ἐδήτυος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος*. Soph. *O. T.* 190, *ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων* (St.).

§ 4. **ἀναβῆναι**] VII. 205. 2, *ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληΐη*. *ἀνα-* prob. as in *ἀναχωρέω* (cf. *ἡ βασιληΐη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα*, VII. 4. 3), the kingly power being considered to return and commence afresh on the accession of a new monarch (7. 1, n.).

ἄλλο τι] *ἄλλο τί*, Bähr: but this would more naturally be written *τί ἄλλο*, as at Thuc. III. 39. 2. Properly the sentence ought to run: *ἄλλο τι λείπεται ... ἢ κινδύνων κ.τ.λ.* But *ἄλλο τι ἢ* becomes a regular interrogative formula: = *nonne*.

τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα·
δεῖ μέν τοι τῶν τινὰ Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι, καὶ
110 *μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.*" Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ 1
τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος, τὸν ἠπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτη-
δεωτάτας νέμοντα, καὶ οὔρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὔνομα ἦν
Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῳ· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ
γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε, Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν,
κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα
Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων ἔνθα τὰς νόμας τῶν 2
βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν
Ἀγβατάνων, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτῃ μὲν 3
γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρη πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινή ἐστι κάρτα καὶ
ὑψηλή τε καὶ ἴδῃσι συνηρεφής. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρη
ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ 4
καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τάδε· "Κελεύει σε
Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον
τῶν οὐρέων, ὅκως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη. καὶ τάδε τοι 5
ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτό, ἀλλά τεῳ τρόπῳ
περιποιήσῃ, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐπορᾶν
111 δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι ἐγώ." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος, 1
καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον, ἤϊε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδόν, καὶ
ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ᾽ ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, 2
ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει,

CH. 110. § 1. **ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ**] Like the Homeric *ἦ ῥα καί.*

ἐπὶ...τὸν] = *ἐπὶ τοῦτον...τόν.*

ἐπιτηδεωτάτας] Explained by *θηριωδέστατα.*

Κυνὼ] Cf. 122. 3. Grote III. 157, n. (IV. 247.)

§ 2. **πρὸς βορέω**] The direction of any object with regard to oneself may be expressed by an imaginary line of connection. In English (as often in Greek) this line is viewed as drawn from oneself to the object ('towards,' *πρός* with the accus.), but sometimes in Greek the line is conceived as drawn *from* the object, and then *πρός* takes the gen. Cf. 75. 3, n.

τῶν Ἀγβ.] The genitive of reference (cf. *τῆς πόλιος* 84. 4; *ἑωυτῆς,* 193. 4, n.). Thus the phrase lit. = 'from the north side with reference to (in its bearings from) A.,' i.e. 'northwards from A.'

§ 4. **σπ. πολλῇ**] With *ἀπίκετο.*

ὅκως ἂν] 75. 5, n.

§ 5. **σε**] Prob. subject (167. 4), not object of *διαχρ.* (cf. however 24. 5).

ἐκκείμενον] *κεῖμαι* is compounded with preps. of motion, because it is regarded as a passive of *τίθημι.* Cf. *ἀνακέαται* (= *ἀνατέθειντα*) 14. 3; 97. 1, n.

CH. 111. § 2. **πᾶσαν ἡμ.**] Not 'all day' but 'every day.'

κως] almost = 'it chanced.' *ἐτύχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου,* III. 78. 8; *καί κως*

οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι
ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς
ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνή, ὅ τι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἅρπαγος μετα-
πέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, 3
οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνή, εἴρετο προτέρη, ὅ τι μιν οὕτω
προθύμως Ἅρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ὦ γύναι, 4
εἶδόν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα, τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον,
μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν
πᾶς Ἁρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἤϊα
ἔσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον, 5
ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ
ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἅρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν τα- 6
χίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον, οἴχεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θεῖναι
ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν οὐρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι
τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μή σφεα
ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος 7
οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμ-
βεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ
καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἁρπάγου. καὶ πρόκα 8
τε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς
ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος· ὡς ἄρα
Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεω θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμ-

κατεῖδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ νῆας, VII. 194. 1. *κως κατὰ δαίμονα* exactly = *θείῃ τύχῃ* (124. 7). Cf. *θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος*, 62. 5; *σὺν θεῷ*, 86. 3; *θειοτέρως*, 122. 3.

ἐς πόλιν] 'to town:' the article being dropped in very common phrases. So *ἐς μέσην νέα*, 'amidships,' 24. 7.

τοῦ τόκου] This depends on *ἐν φροντίδι περὶ* acc. to Abicht: but the gen. after *ἀρρωδέων* may be paralleled by *φίλου δείσας*, Soph. *O. T.* 234; *ὧν ἕκαστος ἤλγει*, Thuc. II. 65. 4.

αὐτῆς] See II. 121. 14, note on *αὐτοῦ*.

§ 4. **τὸ**] is accus. in the first clause, and nom. (to *ὄφελε*) in the second. Cf. 39. 1, note.

οἶκος πᾶς] Cf. *πάντα λόγον*, 21. 2.

§ 5. **κραυγανόμενον**] Nowhere else used. Lobeck suggests *κραγγανόμενον* on the analogy of *κλαγγάνω* (*Phryn.* 337).

§ 7. **κλαυθμὸν**] depends on *ὁρέων*. But the expression is not so strong as the *κτύπον δέδορκα* of Aesch. (*Sept.* 100), since Oriental mourning implies a good deal of outward and visible ceremonial.

§ 8. **καὶ πρόκα τε**] So always in Hdt., wherever the phrase occurs. Hence Schw. proposes to read *πρόκατε* in one word. Stein compares the formation of *πρόκα* (from *πρό*), with *αὐτίκα*, *ἡνίκα*.

ὡς ἄρα] 'That after all, actually.' Cf. *ἔνθεν γε* above, § 7.

βύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καί μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι.
112 νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί." Ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ 1
ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ, ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ
εὐειδὲς ἐὸν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς, ἔχρηζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη 2
οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατα-
σκόπους ἐξ Ἁρπάγου ἐποψομένους· ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα,
ἢν μή σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα,
δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε 3
πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε
ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, τέτοκα δὲ
τεθνεός· τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθες, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος 4
θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν· καὶ οὕτω οὔτε
σὺ ἁλώσεαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας, οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβου-
λευμένα ἔσται. ὅ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληΐης ταφῆς κυρήσει, 5
113 καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχήν." Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ 1
βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα
ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν 2
παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί· τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ, ἐόντα νεκρὸν,

τοῦ Κύρου] The infant Cyrus was thus named after his grandfather according to the Greek custom. Cf. 132. 1; II. 134. 4.

CH. 112. § 1. **μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ**] This = *μηδαμῶς*, as *ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ* (IX. 57. 1) = *ἰθέως*.

§ 2. **αὐτὰ**] This refers to *ταῦτα*, § 6 of the preceding ch.

οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα] *ἄρα* expresses surprise: 'after all,' notwithstanding her claims.

§ 3. **σὺ δὲ**] *δέ* here joins together protasis and apodosis as if they were coordinate. Cf. 173. 3; II. 32. 6, n. Schw. says that Hdt. does not use *δέ* in the apodosis, unless either the protasis is introduced by *δέ*, or the subject of protasis and apodosis is the same (*Lex. Herod*). But besides this passage, cf. *ἐπεὶ τοίνυν σε ὁρέομεν...σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίεε*, V. 40. 1. ἀλλὰ is used in the same way after *ἐπεὶ τοίνυν*, IX. 42. 3.

τεθνεός] Sc. *τέκνον*. Cf. *τεκεῖν δίδυμα*, VI. 52. 2; *ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν γίγνεται οὐδέν*, VI. 71. 3 (St.).

CH. 113. § 1. **κάρτα**] With *εὖ*. Cf. 88. 1; II. 27.

§ 2. **τοῦτον μὲν**] 'When in an alternative two protases, each with its apodosis, are opposed to each other, the form may be *μὲν—μέν* (prot. and ap.), *δὲ—δέ* (prot. and ap.), or also *μὲν—δέ, δὲ—δέ*.' Madv. (*G. S.* 229 *b*). For a perfect instance of the former construction see II. 174. 3, *ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν... ἀπέλυσαν, τούτων μὲν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο... ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν, τούτων δὲ...... τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.* Here the construction is virtually the same, but we have a substantive (*τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα*) in the second clause, instead of *τὸν δὲ ἡ ἑωυτοῦ γυνὴ ἔτεκε, τοῦτον δὲ λαβὼν κ.τ.λ.* A converse instance occurs, 171. 10.

λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε· τὸν ἕτερον κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδὸς, φέρων ἐς τὰ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρη τῷ παιδίῳ 3
ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἤϊε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβόσκων φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἁρπά- 4
γου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἑτοῖμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων, καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον 5
οὐνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὔνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

114 Καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε 1
γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν 2
καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὗται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ, καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἵλοντο ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δέ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δέ τινι τὰς

ἐν τῷ ἔφερε] 'In which he had been carrying' (II. 140. 1, n.).

§ 3. **προβόσκων**] Krüg. seems to think that the meaning of this word is still an open question. But the old explanation 'locum tenens bubulci' gives a meaning to πρό in composition, which can hardly be paralleled in Greek, although in Lat. we have *proconsul, propraetor*. πρόδουλος (Aesch. *Ag*. 945) is not really parallel, since it = 'serving as *a* slave,' not 'in the place of *the* slave:' i. e. it could not be rendered 'under-slave.' The other explanation of πρόβοσκος (L. and S. *Lex*.) is confirmed by πρόβατον.

§ 4. **δορυφόρων**] Hdt. uses the word as if he was talking of a Greek despot (91. 2; 98. 3). Below (117. 5) they are called εὐνοῦχοι.

εἶδε διὰ τούτων] 'Qui facit per alium, facit per se.'

§ 5. **θεμένη**] 107. 1, n.

CH. 114. § 2. **καὶ αἱ β.**] As well as the children's play. Kr.

αὗται] Those referred to above, the ἔπαυλις of 111. 1.

ἐπίκλησιν] See 19. 1. ἐπι- here = in addition to the name which he ought to have had, viz. 'son of Cambyses.' The word thus comes to mean 'nominally.' Cf. *Il*. XVI. 175, ὃν τέκε Πηλῆος θυγάτηρ καλὴ Πολυδώρη Σπερχείῳ...... αὐτὰρ ἐπίκλησιν Βώρῳ, i. e. she called him son of Borus *beyond* the title which he ought to have had, viz. son of Spercheius: = 'really to Sp., nominally to Borus.'

ὀφθαλμὸν β.] Cf. κατάσκοποί, 100. 2. Xen. (*Cyrop*. VIII. 2. 10) says that Cyrus 'acquired the king's eyes and the king's ears, as they are called, wholly and solely by the gifts and honours which he conferred on them: for to those who brought him news which it was seasonable for him to know he showed vast favour, and so caused many men to play the spy and eavesdropper (ὠτακουστεῖν καὶ διοπτεύειν) for the sake

ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσων· εἷς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδίων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμ- 3
βάρεος παῖς, ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων, ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεί τε 4
μετείθη τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἑωυτοῦ παθὼν, μᾶλλόν τι περιημέκτεε· κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἤντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου, (οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοὔνομα,) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ, ὡς εἶχε, ἐλθὼν παρὰ 5
τὸν Ἀστυάγεα, καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα, ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς, ὧδε περιυβρίσμεθα," δεικνὺς
115 τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, 1
θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τόν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπεί τε δὲ 2
παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη· "Σὺ δὴ, ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παῖς, ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα, ἐόντος πρώτου παρ' ἐμοὶ, ἀεικείῃ τοιῇδε περισπεῖν;" Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε· "Ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα 3
τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα·

of news, the bearing of which might be of service to the king.' The Greeks generally seem to have understood the title to denote simply a courtier high in favour with the king. Aesch. *Pers.* 890; Ar. *Ach.* 92.

τῷ δέ τινι κ.τ.λ.] This officer was called *ἀγγελιήφορος* (120. 3; III. 118. 3), or *ἐσαγγελεύς* (III. 84. 13).

ὡς ἑκάστῳ] Sc. *προστάσσοι*. Cf. 29. 1.

§ 3. **οὐ γὰρ δὴ ... αὐτὸν**] See note, 24. 7.

διαλαβεῖν] 'To seize him hand and foot,' so as to divide him, as it were. Cf. *διαλαβόντες τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας*, IV. 94. 3; *τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμίης διελόντας τῆς νεὸς*, with half his body through the porthole, V. 33. 3.

§ 4. **μετείθη**] From *μετίημι*. So *ἀπείθη*, VII. 122. 1; *παρείθη*, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 868.

μᾶλλόν τι] More from the thought of the disgrace than the pain: virtually = *μάλιστα*.

§ 5. **ἔφη...λέγων**] Cf. 122. 2, n.

CH. 115. § 3. **ἐγὼ δὲ**] 'But, my lord, I,' &c. *δέ* almost implies an interruption. Cf. Hom. *Il.* I. 282, *Ἀτρείδη, σὺ δὲ παῦε τεὸν μένος*, where Nestor, after haranguing Achilles, suddenly turns to Agamemnon. See 32. 1, n.

οἱ γάρ με] See 1. 4, and compare *ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ*, VI. 69. 7; *οἵ με φίλοι προδιδοῦσιν*, Theogn. 575.

ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεώτατος. οἱ μέν νυν 4
ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνη-
κούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ
ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι."
116 Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς, τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήιε ἀνάγνωσις 1
αὐτοῦ· καί οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι
ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν, καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι· ὅ τε
χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν.
ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν. μόγις δὲ δή 2
κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα
τὸν βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ· "Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ 3
ταῦτα ποιήσω, ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπι-
μέμφεσθαι." Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει· τὸν δὲ Κῦρον 4
ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες, κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ 5
δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μοῦνος, μουνωθέντα τάδε αὐτὸν
εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ
παραδούς; ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν
αὐτὸν ἔτι εἶναι παρ' ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν οὐκ εὖ 6
βουλεύεσθαι ἔφη, ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέ-

§ 4. **ἐς δ]** 'And so at last.' See 158. 3, note.

ὅδε] So three MSS. Cf. III. 8. If *ὧδε* be adopted, it prob. should have a local signification: cf. *παρεῖναι ἐς κοῖτον* (9. 4), *ἐπὶ δεῖπνον* (118. 3).

CH. 116. § 1. **ἐλευθερωτέρη]** Supply *ἢ κατὰ δούλου παῖδα*. Bähr (2nd ed.) adopts the correction *ἐλευθεριωτέρη* unnecessarily, since *ἐλευθέρη ὑπόκρισις* may be exactly paralleled by *ἐλευθέρως εἰπεῖν*, VIII. 73. 5.

§ 2. **δή κοτε]** 'At last.' This meaning seems to be derived from such phrases as *τί (δή) ποτε; πῶς (δή) ποτε;*=*quid tandem?* The indefiniteness of *ποτε* implies a feeling of impatience, and this feeling of impatience is most strongly manifested at the moment when the delay is terminated. So we have *ἐκκάλυπτε νῦν ποθ'* (now at last) *ἡμῖν οὕστινας λέγεις λόγους*, Eur. *Iph. A.* 872; *εὔχεται οὐλομέναν νοῦσον διαντλήσας ποτὲ οἶκον ἰδεῖν*, Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 522.

§ 4. **πέμπει]** Hom. *Od.* XV. 74, *χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν*. Cf. *πομπούς* below, ch. 121.

§ 5. **μουνωθέντα τάδε]** This is the reading of most MSS. (Bähr), and *μουνωθέντα* is used in the same sense, VI. 75. 3. Krüg. and Ab. prefer *μουνόθεν τάδε* (so one MS.), comparing *οἰόθεν οἶος*, Hom. *Il.* VII. 39. But Stein's argument is prob. sound, that if Hdt. had wished to adopt this mode of expression, he would have used the actual Homeric form. For the repetition of *μοῦνος*, cf. *μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ*, IX. 27. 7; *ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα*, I. 2. 3; 'solus te solum volo,' Plaut. *Capt.* III. 4. 70 (St.).

§ 6. **ἐπιθυμέοντα]** Used ironically: 'it was clear he wished.'

ἀνάγκας] 'Angustias' Schw. Below *τὰς ἀνάγκας* is used of the actual instrument of torture, as is implied

εσθαι· ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι
λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, οὕτω δὴ 7
ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον. ἀρχόμενος δὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήϊε τῇ 8
ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος· καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην
117 ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν. Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου 1
τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο·
Ἁρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος, καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς
δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δέ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἅρπαγος, εἴρετό μιν
ὁ Ἀστυάγης· "Ἅρπαγε, τέῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατε-
χρήσαο, τόν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;"
Ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος, ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ 2
τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδὸν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἁλίσκηται,
ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεί τε παρέλαβον τὸ
παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπῶν ὅκως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον,
καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος, μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ
μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἴην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε. καλέσας τὸν 3

by ἀγόμενος (sc. ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων). St. compares ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευγμαι τάλας, Aesch. *Prom.* 108.

§ 8. **κατέβαινε**] *Not* to be compared with 'preces descendere in omnes,' Virg. *Aen.* v. 782. See note, 90. 5. We have the construction with ἐς, III. 75. 2, elsewhere the participle,—here both.

CH. 117. § 1. **ἤδη**] This refers to τὴν ἀληθηΐην ἐκφήναντος. The simultaneous occurrence of the two actions almost implies a notion of cause and effect (cf. 207. 5). So Aristot. uses ἤδη in the sense of *ipso facto: Eth.* VI. (9) 3, ὥρισται ἤδη πᾶν οὗ δόξα ἐστίν, 'that which is the subject of an opinion has been already decided,' i.e. by the mere fact that an opinion has been formed on it. Translate: 'no longer made so much account of him' (as of Harpagus).

καὶ μεγάλως] Cf. καὶ τὸ κάρτα, 71. 2; καὶ τὸ παράπαν, 75. 6; καὶ πάγχυ, VI. 112. 2. These may be explained by supposing καί to couple the verbal notion to the verbal notion + the adverb:—'blamed, aye and greatly blamed:' or by supposing a reference to some standard:—'not merely a little, but also (even) greatly.' καί thus merely emphasizes. So with numerals, καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, = 'quite as much as,' 194. 5; with comparatives, καὶ μᾶλλόν τι, '(not merely as much as, but) even more than,' 98. 7 (cf. καὶ ἐλάσσω, above); καὶ ἀμφότεροι, 'both (not merely one),' 74. 4; καὶ πάλαι, '(not merely of late, but) long ago,' 127. 1.

§ 2. **ποιήσω**] Prob. the future indicative, since the 1st aor. subj. is rarely used after ὅπως, in order to avoid confusion (Madv. *G. S.* 123. r. 1). By thus repeating as it were almost the exact words of his deliberation, the speaker puts prominently forward as his direct and principal motive the performance at any cost of the king's commands, while the avoidance of the guilt of homicide, a more selfish end, is by the use of the opt. (εἴην) represented as a more remote object at the time of action.

αὐθέντης] 'Slayer of kindred.' The use of αὐθέντης instead of φο-

βουκόλον τόνδε, παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν
κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε, οὐκ ἐψευ-
δόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε 4
κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος θεῖναί μιν ἐς ἐρῆμον οὖρος, καὶ
παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσει, ἀπειλήσας παν-
τοῖα τῷδε, ἢν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπεί τε δὲ, ποιή- 5
σαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα, ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας
τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων, καὶ
ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτως ἔσχε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος
τούτου· καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς."

118 *Ἅρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον. Ἀστυάγης δὲ* 1
κρύπτων τόν οἱ ἐνεῖχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς, πρῶτα μὲν,
κατάπερ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν
ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἁρπάγῳ· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέ-
βαινε λέγων, ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς, καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει
καλῶς. "Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ, ἔφη λέγων, ἐς τὸν παῖδα 2

νεύς implies a reference to the relationship between Harpagus and Cyrus (108. 5; 109. 3). So *αὐθ. δμαιμος φόνος*, Aesch. *Eum.* 212: of the murder of a blood-relation. Compare the use of *αὐτόκτονος, αὐτοκτονέω*, by the dramatists.

§ 3. **φὰς σέ τε**] 'For *σέ τε φὰς*, cf. *νῦν, ἔφη τε* for *νῦν τε, ἔφη*, 125. 3.' Kr. On this view *τε* either belongs to the whole sentence, and is irregularly answered by *καὶ λέγων* (Bähr), or (possibly) couples *φάς* to *καλέσας*. From a comparison of 110. 5, we should have expected a second clause, *καί σε διαχρήσεσθαι εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ ἢν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτό*, and Stein's explanation is that Harpagus had meant to add something of the kind, when he remembered that these threats, uttered as coming from the king, were untrue. But this is to attribute too much elaborateness and dramatic by-play to Hdt.'s speeches.

§ 4. **μέντοι**] merely resumes without any notion of opposition. Hom. *Od.* II. 292, *εἰσὶ δὲ νῆες...τάων μέντοι ἐγὼν ἐπιόψομαι ἥ τις ἀρίστη.*

κατὰ τάδε] either anticipates *ἐντειλάμενος*, 'in the following way viz.'—cf. *κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο* (= *οὕτως*), VI. 44. 5—or (more prob.) = 'in accordance with these commands.' Cf. *τάδε ἐπιτελέα*, below.

CH. 118. § 1. **ἐνεῖχε**] All the MSS. read *ἐνείχεε*, which would imply a form *ἐνεχέω*. Similarly some MSS. have *συμβαλλεόμενος*, 68. 4; *ὑπερβαλλέεσθαι*, III. 76. 3; *ἐσινέοντο*, V. 81. 3. But no other instance of *ἐνεχέω* occurs in Hdt. (Kr.). *ἐνεῖχε* = *ἔνδον εἶχε*. St.

§ 2. **ἔφη λέγων**] The second word is not altogether redundant, since the phrase is never used, except where some part of the speech has been already quoted (*ἔλεγε φάς*, 122. 2, is different). Translate therefore 'went on to say.' Here there is a special point in the expression, because *κατέβαινε* (above) would naturally have implied the conclusion of the speech (90. 5, n.). Generally *ἔφη λέγων* implies a transition from *oratio obliqua* to *recta*: cf. however II. 172. 6.

τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος
οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὦν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, 3
τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα
τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ, (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν
τοῖσι θεῶν τιμὴ αὕτη προσκέεται,) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον."
119 Ἅρπαγος μὲν, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα 1
ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτάς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε, καὶ ὅτι
ἐπὶ τύχῃσι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κέκλητο, ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία.
ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἦν γάρ οἱ παῖς εἷς μοῦνος, ἔτεα 2
τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονὼς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει, ἰέναι
τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ.
αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐὼν φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα.
Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Ἁρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν, 3
καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν, τὰ μὲν ὤπτησε, τὰ δὲ ἕψησε τῶν
κρεῶν. εὔτυκτα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἑτοῖμα. ἐπεί τε δὲ, 4
τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου, παρῆσαν οἵ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυ-
μόνες καὶ ὁ Ἅρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ
παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπιπλέαι μηλείων κρεῶν, Ἁρπάγῳ δὲ
τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν
τε καὶ ποδῶν, τἆλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ
κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἁρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἅλις 5
ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἴρετό μιν, εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῇ θοίνῃ·
φαμένου δὲ Ἁρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον, τοῖσι
προσέκειτο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ
τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας· Ἅρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προστάντες
ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος 6

§ 3. **τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ**] See 30. 8.

σῶστρα] Cf. ψυχῆς κόμιστρα, Aesch. *Ag.* 965.

CH. 119. § 1. **ἐς δέον κ.τ.λ.**] 'Had served his turn well (186. 7), and that good luck would follow his being bidden to the banquet.'

§ 2. **περιχαρὴς κ.τ.λ.**] Compare the story of Haman, *Esther*, v. 9—12.

§ 4. **ἄκρων**] χεὶρ and ποῦς often = leg and arm. Cf. ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα, II. 121. 30; ἐκ κεφαλῆς εἵλυντο διαμπερὲς ἐς πόδας ἄκρους, Hom. *Il.* XVI. 640; νύξε δέ μιν κατὰ χεῖρα μέσην, ἀγκῶνος ἔνερθεν, *Il.* XI. 252.

§ 5. **θοίνῃ**] denotes a grand banquet, and so increases the irony of the question. Cf. IX. 82. 3, where it is used of the Persian and Spartan dinners served up to Pausanias after the battle of Plataea.

καὶ κάρτα] 'Aye, very much:' 117. 1, n.

προσέκειτο] = προσετέτακτο.

προστάντες] 86. 3, n.

δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος, καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων, ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα· ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη, ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα
βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη, καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν 7
τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν, ἤϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἁλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120 Ἁρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε. Κύρου 1
δὲ πέρι βουλεύων ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν μάγων οἳ τὸ ἐνύπνιόν οἱ ταύτῃ ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ
ἀπέθανε πρότερον. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσδε· "Ἔστι 2
τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι· καί μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ
τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα περ 3
οἱ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ βασιλέες, ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας. καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας εἶχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;"
Εἶπαν οἱ μάγοι· "Εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς 4

§ 6. **ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ**] 'Contained himself,' 'refrained himself.' For οὔτε...τε, cf. 63. 3.

§ 7. **βασιλεὺς**] Not 'a king,' but 'the king.' βασ. without the article was the common expression for the king of Persia after the Persian war: cf. 188. 2; 192. 3; VII. 138. 1; 146. 2; 174. 1: and Hdt. writing after the war seems to apply the same phrase to the earlier kings. So of the king of Egypt, II. 162. 5.

ἔμελλε] 'Would naturally.' μέλλω often introduces an *a priori* argument, i.e. an inference not actually warranted by experience. Cf. II. 150. 7, n.

CH. 120. § 1. **δίκην ταύτην**] 'This as a penalty.' The art. is omitted because δίκην is pred. Cf. II. 116. 1.

ταύτῃ] In the way described above, 108. 4. Cf. οὕτω, II. 1.

χρῆν] Cf. 8. 3.

ἐπέζωσε] ἐπ- as in ἐπιβιόω, Thuc. II. 65. 6.

§ 2. **ἔστι...περίεστι**] 'Alive and not dead,' 'alive and well.' The repetition may be illustrated by the instances given, II. 172. 2, n. Cf. περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, III. 80. 8; ἤ που ζώει τε καὶ ἔστιν, Hom. *Od.* XXIV. 263.

§ 3. **οἱ ἀλ. λόγ. β.**] 'They who are truly accounted kings.' So τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, 'as they accounted the matter,' on their view, VIII. 6. 2.

ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας] = τελέως ἐποίησε acc. to Schw. But τελεοῦν = 'to confirm in an office,' III. 86. 3. So here we may get the more definite meaning: 'appointed and confirmed his appointments in all respects like a real king.'

διατάξας εἶχε] 'Was holding at his orders' (27. 4, n.).

μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινός, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἔνια κεχώρηκε· καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται." Ἀμείβεται Ἀστυάγης 5
τοῖσδε· "Καὶ αὐτός, ὦ μάγοι, ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος οὐνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδός, ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον, καί μοι τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι. ὅμως μέν 6
γε τοι συμβουλεύσατέ μοι, εὖ περισκεψάμενοι, τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν." Εἶπαν πρὸς 7
ταῦτα οἱ μάγοι· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σήν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται, ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιϊοῦσα, ἐόντα Πέρσην· καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐόντες Μῆδοι, δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασι- 8
λέος, ἐόντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος, καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο τε καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτέον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ὡρέομεν, 9
πᾶν ἄν σοι προεφράζομεν· νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου

§ 4. **παρὰ σμικρὰ**] 'παρά here simply = πρός or ἐς. Cf. ἐς ἀσθενές below.' Bähr. But Krüg. points out that παρά in this sense is only used with persons, and that here consequently there must be a notion of comparison involved. Translate 'turn out as of little moment.'

τὰ...τῶν ὀν. ἐχ.] 'All that has to do with dreams,' a phrase which merely implies that the *whole* of the class is intended. Cf. 193. 6; II. 77. 8. We should have expected ἔνια to have been repeated in this clause as well.

τελέως] Schw., as if with ἀσθενές, 'to an utterly weak accomplishment.' But this loses the connection with τέλος. It seems here to mean either (1) in the end, at last, or (2) up to the end, first and last. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 320, παραγιγνόμεναι πράκτορες αἵματος | αὐτῷ τελέως ἐφάνημεν, where τελέως acc. to one view = *usque ad finem, non desistentes*, acc. to another refers to χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει (*v.* 317), and = at last.

§ 6. **μέν γε τοι**] The order may be explained by the fact that both γε and μέντοι 'severally claim the second place in the sentence' (see Madv. *G. S.* 254). Thus we have ὅμως γε μέντοι, Ar. *Ran.* 61, but οὐ μέντοι γε, Plat. *Rep.* 329 E. Here the place is divided between the two, since μέντοι has hardly become one word in Hdt.'s time, and μέν takes precedence of γε, as at IV. 48. 3.

§ 7. **κείνως**] = μὴ κατορθουμένη.

Μῆδοι] Ch. 101.

ξεῖνοι] = foreigners. Cf. 65. 3, note. The word seems a strong one to use here, but prob. refers to the fact that the Magian and the Persian religions were distinct. The apprehensions of the Magi were justified by the Magophonia (see III. 79).

§ 8. **ἐνεστεῶτος**] Sc. ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ. Kr. Notice the Greek colouring of πολιήτεω.

τὸ μέρος] 'Our fair share:' cf. II. 173. 6.

ἐς φλαῦρον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι
121 ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε· "Ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκεον, τῇ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δ' ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὑρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ."

122 Ταῦτα εἴπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστή- 1
σαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γειναμενοι· καὶ δεξάμενοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο, οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι· ἱστόρεόν τε ὅτεῳ
τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ 2
εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην. ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γάρ, ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἴη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν
πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε 3
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός. ἤιέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἦν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες

§ 9. **ἕτερα τοιαῦτα**] i.e. *θαρσεῖν*. Cf. 207. 3.

Ch. 121. **ἐκεῖ**] For *ἐκεῖσε*. So often in Hdt.

κατὰ] Cf. 98. 8; Plat. *Apol.* 1, *ὁμολογοίην ἂν ἔγωγε οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι ῥήτωρ*, 'not an orator of their sort.'

Ch. 122. § 1. **ἐπιστάμενοι**] 'Feeling sure.' Used, like *ἐπίστασθαι* below, of inaccurate knowledge: virtually = *δοξάζειν*. Cf. *ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ*, VIII. 132. 3.

§ 2. **ἔλεγε φὰς**] 'Told them (how he had escaped) adding.' v. 50. 2, *χρεὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν, λέγει δ' ὦν* (sc. *τὸ ἐόν*) *τριῶν μηνῶν φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον*.

§ 3. **ἤιε...αἰνέων**] From the analogy of *ἔρχομαι ἐρέων* (5. 5); *ἔρχομαι φράσων* (194. 1); *ἤια λέξων*, IV. 82. 3 Stein concludes that *αἰνέων* here is the fut. part., comparing the use of *αἱρέει* in a future sense, V. 43. 2; VI. 82. 3. But there clearly is a reason for the use of the future, where Hdt. is using the phrase about his own intentions, which does not exist in the present passage. Thus *τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἤια λέξων λόγον* (IV. 82. 3; V. 62. 1) = the story which I *was going to tell* originally (before the digression), whereas *ἤιε αἰνέων* here must mean 'he continually went about praising,' not 'he was going about to praise.'

τὰ παντα] 'Omne sermonum argumentum erat ei Cyno' Herm. (*ad Viger.* 95), i.e. he could talk of nothing else. Without the article the meaning would be different; e.g. in the phrase *πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος* (III. 157. 6) *πάντα* is merely a rhetorical superlative, = Z. was a great man. Thus

παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι
Πέρσῃσι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκεί-
μενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη
123 κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων 1
ἀνδρειοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἅρπαγος
δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων. ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ 2
γάρ, ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω, οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυ-
άγεα· Κῦρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον, ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον,
τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι 3
τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ
ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν
πρώτων Μήδων, ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον προστησαμένους,
τὸν Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης. κατεργασμένου δέ 4
οἱ τούτου, καὶ ἐόντος ἑτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ
ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἅρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ
γνώμην, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε, ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσο-
μένων· ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος,
καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς
δὲ εἶχε, οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βιβλίον, γράψας τά οἱ ἐδόκεε. ἀπορ- 5

if we were to read πάντα in the present passage, the meaning would become 'verbis (non item animo) carissima erat Cyno.' Herm.

θειοτέρως] So μεζόνως, II. 49. 3; ἐνδεεστέρως, Plat. *Phaed.* 74. 3; μειόνως, Soph. *O. C.* 104; βελτιόνως, Plat. *Rep.* 484; ἐχθιόνως, Xen. *Symp.* IV. 3.

κατέβαλλον] 'Spread abroad:' prob. a metaphor from sowing seed.

CH. 123. § 1. **τῶν ἡλίκων κ.τ.λ.**] So in Xenophon's historical romance, Cyrus πάντων τῶν ἡλίκων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο. *Cyrop.* I. 3. 1.

προσέκειτο] Abicht takes this with the part., 'sent gift upon gift,' προσκεῖσθαι ποιῶν τι meaning 'to do a thing urgently' (cf. Thuc. VIII. 52, θεραπεύων προσέκειτο). But in the other passages in which the word is used by Hdt. (see Schw. *Lex.*) it seems to have a dative depending directly on it. Translate therefore: 'sought to cleave to Cyrus.'

§ 2. **ἐπιτρεφόμενον**] ἐπι- = growing up as a successor to Astyages. Cf. ἐπιτραφέντων, II. 121. 4; ἐπιγενόμενοι, II. 49. 3.

§ 3. **πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου**] So πρὸς ἔτι τούτοισι, 64. 2; ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ, ὅτε, Hom. *Il.* IX. 106.

§ 4. **τούτου**] = τούτων (sc. τῶν Μήδων). Cf. ἑτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, 124. 7; 97. 1, note. For the passive sense of κατεργ. (= work upon, persuade), cf. 207. 8, n.

φυλασσομένων] Compare the description of the 'royal' road from Sardis to Susa (V. 52), where φυλακτήρια are mentioned at the bridges and passes. Hdt. is talking as if these existed in the days of Astyages. Cf. 188. 2, n.

ὁ δὲ] See 107. 4.

ὡς δὲ εἶχε] As if ἐάσας had been added (Kr.), δέ introducing an opposition to οὐδέν.

§ 5. **ἀπορράψας**] ἀπο- = 'back again,' as in ἀποδιδόναι.

ῥάψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς, ἅτε
θηρευτῇ, τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστειλε ἐς τοὺς
Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν
Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν, αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν διελεῖν, καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα
124 ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι. Ταῦτα δὲ δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο· καὶ ὁ 1
Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε. εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ
τὸ βιβλίον ἐνεὸν, λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε 2
τάδε· "Ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορέωσι· οὐ γὰρ ἄν
κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτον τύχης ἀπίκευ· σὺ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν 3
σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην
τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεούς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις. τά σε καὶ 4
πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς
ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ
ἀπέκτεινα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ 5
πείθεσθαι, τῆσπερ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχει χώρης, ταύτης ἁπάσης
ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι, στρατηλάτεε 6
ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἤν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῶ
στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεαι, ἤν τε τῶν τις
δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ' 7
ἐκείνου, καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο, Ἀστυάγεα καταιρέειν πει-
ρήσονται· ὡς ὦν ἑτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίεε ταῦτα,
καὶ ποίεε κατὰ τάχος."

ἀπὸ γλώσσης] With *ἐπειπεῖν*. Cf. *ὡς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων*, 'to judge by the eye,' Soph. *O. C.* 15.

CH. 124. § 1. **ἐπελέγετο**] 'Read,' lit. 'pondered over' the meaning contained in the characters. So the Attic **ἀναγιγνώσκω** lit. denotes the 'recognition' of the writer's meaning (St.).

§ 2. **σὲ γὰρ**] *γάρ* gives a reason for *τίσαι*. See 8. 2, n.

§ 3. **σὺ νῦν**] Krüg. reads *νυν*, comparing the common use of *ὦν* after the anticipatory *γάρ* (cf. *δή*, 129. 3, n.). But (1) we constantly find the anticipated clause introduced without any resuming particle, (2) where *ὦν* is used, we frequently have *νῦν* as well (30. 5; 121. 1), and (3) there is force in *νῦν*, = *now* is the time of vengeance (123, 1—3) for deeds of which you have long ago heard (*καὶ πάλαι*). The occurrence of *σύ νυν* below, § 5 (Bähr reads *νῦν* there as well), does not prove that *νῦν* is wrong here.

φονέα] Cf. 45. 4.

τὸ δὲ] 'The expression originates in the omission of a sentence merely intimated by *τό* (e.g. *τὸ δὲ ὧδε ἔχει*),' Madv. (*G. S.* 118. r. 7). So far as Hdt. is concerned, compare (1) the use of *τοῦτο μὲν—τοῦτο δέ* (30. 8), (2) the pleonastic use of the personal pronoun with *δέ* (107. 4). Cf. VII. 158. 2, *τὸ δὲ κατ' ὑμέας, τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται*, 'si per vos stetisset, haec omnia in barbarorum forent potestate' (Schw.).

§ 7. **πρὸς σέο**] Cf. 75. 2.

125 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ 1
Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι. φροντίζων δὲ εὕρισκέ τε
ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι καὶ ἐποίεε δὴ ταῦτα· γράψας ἐς 2
βιβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἁλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο· μετὰ
δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά
μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. "Νῦν," ἔφη τε 3
λέγων, "ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν, παρεῖναι ἕκαστον
ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. Ἔστι 4
δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε,
καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων, ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν
ὧλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι,
Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ 5
Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι
γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἵδε· Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρου- 6
σιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι· οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι. οἱ δὲ
126 ἄλλοι νομάδες· Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοί, Σαγάρτιοι. Ὡς
δὲ παρῆσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ

CH. 125. § 1. **ταῦτα**] Above, ch. 101, note.

§ 3. **ἔφη τε λέγων**] See note, 117. 3: 118, 2. τε prob. is part of what Cyrus says: 'and now.' Cf. *νῦν τε*, 37. 3; *καὶ νῦν*, 120. 3.

§ 4. **γένεα**] Below, § 5, we have a *φρήτρη* mentioned as a subdivision of the *γένος*. Hence Hdt. is not using these terms in the exact sense in which they were applied at Athens, where the *γένος* (*gens*) was a subdivision of the *φρατρία* (*curia*), and this latter a subdivision of the *φυλή* (*tribus*). In the present passage *γένεα* may be translated 'clans,' and *φρήτρη* 'family.'

τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν] Opposed to **ἄλλοι δέ**, § 6. *τά* here is prob. the relative, and its antecedent *τάδε* is introduced by the apodotic *δέ* (112. 3, n.). Later writers mention a town Pasargadae (214. 6, n.).

§ 5. **ἄριστοι**] 'Graecorum more, qui genere praestantes et nobiles s. optimates sic appellare solebant.' Bähr. More prob. here it simply = 'bravest,' as often in Hdt. The three clans first mentioned would seem to be the warrior-class (as opposed to the *ἀροτῆρες* and *νομάδες* below), and of these the Pasargadae are the bravest. For the Achaemenidae, see III. 65. 10; VII. 11. 3. Compare the words of Darius on the Behistun Inscription (Sir H. Rawlinson's trans., *col.* 1):—'On that account (owing to our descent from Achaemenes) we have been called Achaemenians; from antiquity we have descended (?); from antiquity our family have been kings.' (Behistun is on the western frontier of ancient Media. The inscription is engraved at a height of 300 feet from the base of a precipitous rock. It is trilingual (in ancient Persian, Babylonian, and a Tatar dialect) and is thought to have been executed in the 5th year of Darius, B. C. 516. Rawlinson.)

Περσεῖδαι] i. e. descendants of Perses, the son of Perseus (VII. 61. 4).

Κῦρος (ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντῃ) τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν 2
Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δεύτερά σφι προεῖπε, ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε 3
αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὠυτὸ, ἔθυε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τῶν Περσέων τὸν στρατὸν, πρὸς δὲ οἴνῳ τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεωτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς 4
Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἴρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον, ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἴη αἱρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, 5
πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον. τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεοῦσαν πάντα 6
ἀγαθά. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων· "Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι· μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὦν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι, γίνεσθε 7
ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς

CH. 126. § 1. **ὅσον τε**] See 14. 8, n. Hom. *Od.* x. 517, *βόθρον ὀρύξαι ὅσον τε πυγούσιον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.*

πάντῃ] i. e. the tract to be cleared was square-shaped.

§ 3. **ἔθυε**] Simply = 'slew' without any notion of a sacrifice or burnt offering. Cf. 216. 3.

οἴνῳ τε] Sc. *δεξόμενος*, as if *τούτοισι* had been added above.

§ 5. **πολλὸν εἶναι κ.τ.λ.**] IX. 82. 3. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 914, *πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μέσον*, followed by *τότε μὲν —νῦν δέ.*

σφι.] Krüg. reads *σφεῖς*. But *ἡμέρην* is the subj. of *ἔχειν* and not the accus. of duration. Compare *πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχειν τινί*. The old explanation was that *ἔχειν* = *παρέχειν*. But 'in his locutionibus *ἔχειν* retinet suam vim, sic ut notet conjunctum quid cum quo esse. Nullo enim modo fieri potest ut *ἔχω* idem sit atque *παρέχω*.' Herm. *ad Viger.* 184. Cf. *παρέχοντες—ἔχοντες*, 155. 1. Translate: 'yesterday contained nothing but evil, as they had found (*σφι*); to day nothing but good.'

§ 6. **παρεγύμνου**] *παρ-* (= 'sideways') implies caution and reserve. Cf. *ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου*, VIII. 19. 2. So *παραδηλοῦν*, *oblique significare*, to insinuate without actually stating; *παραδῦναι*, to enter sideways, to slip in.

ἐμέο] The gen. on the analogy of *ἀκούειν*, 'to obey.' 108. 6, n.

§ 7. **θείῃ τύχῃ**] Either in a general sense, 'providentially' (111. 2, n.), or more prob. with *γεγονώς* specially, referring to the popular belief about his birth (*θειοτέρως*, 122. 3).

χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι· καὶ ὑμέας ἥγημαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους, οὔτε τἆλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὦν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

127 *Πέρσαι μέν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἄσμενοι ἐλευ-* 1
θεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι.
Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον πρήσσοντα ταῦτα, πέμψας 2
ἄγγελον, ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον
ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι πρότερον ἥξοι παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀστυ-
άγης βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους 3
τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβὴς
ἐὼν ἀπέδεξε Ἅρπαγον, λήθην ποιεύμενος τά μιν ἐόργεε. ὡς 4
δ' οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἱ
μέν τινες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ
δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν
128 *τε καὶ ἔφευγον. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος* 1
αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη, ἀπειλέων
τῷ Κύρῳ· "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ὁ Κῦρός γε χαιρήσει." Τοσαῦτα 2
εἴπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οἵ μιν ἀνέ-
γνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε. μετὰ δὲ
ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν Μήδων ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, νέους
τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους, καὶ συμ- 3
βαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἑσσώθη· καὶ αὐτός τε Ἀστυάγης
129 *ἐζωγρήθη, καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε. Ἐόντι δὲ* 1
αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ προστὰς ὁ Ἅρπαγος, κατέχαιρέ
τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα
ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τό μιν

ἐχόντων] *ἔχειν* impers., as at § 6.

τὴν ταχίστην] 24. 5.

CH. 127. § 1. **καὶ πάλαι**] 117. 1, n.

§ 3. **ὥστε**] 8. 2, n.

θεοβλαβὴς] 'Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.'

τά] = *τούτων τά.*

§ 4. **ὅσοι μὴ**] 'Those who had not had the word given them.' Strictly *τοῦ λόγου* is the secret conference of Harpagus with the Median chiefs (123. 3).

CH. 128. § 1. **χαιρήσει**] Hom. *Il.* XX. 362, *οὐδέ τιν' οἴω | Τρώων χαιρήσειν, ὅστις σχεδὸν ἔγχεος ἔλθῃ* (St.).

§ 2. **τοσαῦτα**] 'No more than this.' Krüg.

τούτους] simply repeats the subst.

ἀνεσκολόπισε] *ἀνα-*, as in *ἀνασταυρόω*, implies that the body was raised from the ground.

CH. 129. § 1. **προστὰς**] 86. 3, note.

λέγων...εἴρετο] 8. 2; 85. 2, note.

θυμαλγέα] Hom. *Od.* XXIII. 183, *ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς ἔειπες.*

πρὸς] = 'referring to,' or 'as compared with.' Harpagus put the

ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὅ τι εἴη ἡ ἐκείνου δουλο-
σύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ὁ δέ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο, εἰ 2
ἑωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἅρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς 3
γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἑωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυ- 4
άγης δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον
ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων· σκαιότατον μέν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ
βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα,
ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος· ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου
εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περι- 5
θεῖναι ἄλλῳ τέῳ τὴν βασιληΐην, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαι-
ότερον εἶναι Μήδων τέῳ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ
Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν, ἀναιτίους τούτου ἐόντας, 6
δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι· Πέρσας δὲ, δούλους ἐόντας
τὸ πρὶν Μήδων, νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130 Ἀστυάγης μέν νυν, βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ 1

question so as to point out that Astyages' misfortunes were the result of that banquet. Compare the question of Leotychides to Demaratus (VI. 67. 2) ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. Krüg. suggests ἐκεῖ νῦν instead of ἐκείνου, but the latter brings out the antithesis to ἑωυτοῦ, above: 'what *he* thought of *his* bonds, after being a king.'

§ 3. **ἑωυτοῦ δὴ**] Another reading is πρῆγμα δὴ ἑωυτοῦ, which Bähr and Krüg. adopt, considering that δή resumes after γάρ (124. 3, note). The MS. authority is about equal (Gaisf.), but more force is gained by taking δή with ἑωυτοῦ ('his very own'): cf. ἑωυτοῦ γε, below.

§ 4. **τῷ λόγῳ**] Cf. ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὡς οὐκ ἀδικοῖεν, V. 84. 2; ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη, VIII. 61. 2; ἀποδεικνύντες λόγῳ, V. 94. 3. In these passages there is some doubt as to whether λόγῳ = *oratione* or *ratione*. Prob. the latter:—'offered (*imperf.*) arguments to prove.'

εἰ δὴ] 'if really,' 'if as he said.'

αὐτῷ...ἑωυτοῦ] These both refer to the subject of the dependent clause (Harpagus), but the former is used where there is no emphasis on the pronoun, the latter (as at § 2) where special emphasis is required. See 86. 6, n.

§ 5. **δεῖν**] See 24. 11, note.

περιθεῖναι] This may possibly be a reference to the *tiara*, as the symbol of Persian sovereignty (so Stein: cf. II. 162. 1). But the expression also occurs, where this explanation will not serve: cf. III. 142. 5; Thuc. VI. 89. 2, ἐμοὶ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε, 'crowned me with infamy.'

§ 6. **τούτου**] sc. τοῦ δείπνου.

CH. 130. § 1. **πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον**] These words must = 'if we do not reckon the 28 years of Scythian dominion' (106. 1). But the form of expression leaves it doubtful whether Hdt. has already made the deduction, or whether he intends the reader to deduct the sum for himself. In the former case (translate 'besides') the 28 years will not be included in the 128, so that the whole duration of the Median hegemony will amount to 156 years: on the latter alternative (translate 'with the exception of') the duration of the hegemony will be 128 years, but of this amount Hdt. implies that 28 years, strictly speak-

τριήκοντα, οὕτω τῆς βασιληΐης κατεπαύθη· Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον. Ὑστέρῳ μέντοι 2
χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι, καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν, μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ 3
Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι, ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος, κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας, εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός 4

ing, cannot be reckoned. The latter interpretation seems preferable, since Hdt. gen. places the qualifying words (πάρεξ, ἔξω, πλὴν, χωρὶς) early in the sentence where he has already made the deduction (see 164. 4; II. 77. 8; III. 91. 4, χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου προσήϊε ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα); while he places them at the end of the sentence (as here) when he means to imply that the deduction has still to be made (see 94. 1; II. 111. 5; III. 67. 2, ὥστε πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν τῶν Περσέων). Stein. This interpretation however does not get rid of chronological difficulties, since the dominion of the Medes over upper Asia cannot properly be placed before the accession of Phraortes (102. 1), i.e. only 96 years before the defeat of Astyages. To obviate this difficulty, some editors have actually deducted the 28 from the 128 years, so as to make the amount 100 years, forgetting that whether the years of the Scythian dominion are counted *as part of the Median hegemony* or not, the point of time at which the latter begins would still be the same, viz. 128 years before the defeat of Astyages. See Clinton *F. H.* I. 257. Another difficulty as great as that mentioned above is the improbability that the reigns of four successive kings, each the son of his predecessor, would amount to 150 years. Compare II. 127. 1, note.

§ 2. **Δαρείου**] i. e. Darius Nothus (B. C. 408) acc. to Bähr, Dahlm., and Mure, who compare Xen. *Hell.* I. 2. 19, καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. For the objections to this view, see Grote, *H. G.* III. 194 (IV. 304), n. On the other hand the passage can hardly refer to the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis, as recorded by Hdt. (III. 61—79), since (1) we hear of no battle then, (2) ἀπό here could hardly be used of a time when Darius was not yet king. But in the Behistun Inscription (125. 5, n.) as deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson (*col.* II. 5—12) we have the following account of a revolt in the reign of Darius Hystaspes not elsewhere mentioned by Hdt. :—'Says Darius the king—A man named Phraortes, a Mede, he rose up.' To the state of Media thus he said: I am Xathrites of the race of Cyaxares. Then the Median troops who were at home revolted from me. They went over to that Phraortes: he became king of Media...... Then I went out from Babylon. I proceeded to Media. When I reached Media, there that Phraortes, who (was) called king of Media, came with an army against me to do battle. There we fought a battle. Ormazd brought help to me. By the grace of Ormazd I entirely defeated the army of Phraortes.' Rawlinson, *App.* Bk. III.

*τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε· καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων
ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι τὸ πρότερον.
τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἦρξε.*

131 *Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους· ἀγάλματα* 1
*μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι· ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ
δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεούς, κατάπερ
οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μέν, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλό-* 2
*τατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες, θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον
πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ
σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι.. τούτοισι* 3
*μὲν δὴ μούνοισι θύουσι ἀρχῆθεν. ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ
Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων.
καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι*
132 *δὲ Ἀλίττα, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. Θυσίη δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι* 1
*περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε. οὔτε βωμοὺς
ποιεῦνται, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, μέλλοντες θύειν· οὐ σπονδῇ*

§ 4. **πάσης**] See note, 103. 3.

Ch. 131. § 1. **τοῖσδε**] simply anticipates the participial clause (II. 2. 4; 143. 5).

ἀγάλματα] See 31. 9, n. *οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ π.*, i. e. as the Greeks do: *θεῶν ἱρὰ Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι*, IV. 108. 3. *ἐπιφέρουσι*, as if we had had *ποιεῦνται* above.

ὡς μὲν] implies that others may think differently.

δοκέειν] 172. 1, n.

ἀνθρωποφυέας] Krüg. prefers Valla's trans., 'ex hominibus ortos.' But that the word = 'having the nature of men' (*ἀνθρωποειδής*, II. 142. 4) is proved by a passage in Empedocles. Speaking of the monsters produced during the earlier stages of creation, he says: *ἐξανέτελλον | ἀνδροφυῆ βούκρανα, μεμιγμένα τῇ μὲν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, τῇ δὲ γυναικοφυῆ*, 'of mingled shape having some parts derived from men, in others having the nature of women' (*androgynum*, Lucret. v. 837).

ἐνόμισαν] The aorist refers back to the introduction of the practice (cf. *νομίσαντες*, 135. 1). St.

§ 2. **οἱ δὲ**] 107. 4, n.

Διὶ] Hdt. uses the Greek title for the chief god of the Persian religion, viz. Auramazda (Ormazd). But the elemental worship which he proceeds to describe (cf. 86. 2) was prob. not the primitive Persian, but the Magian religion (*ἄνευ μάγου*, 132. 4). The inscriptions shew no trace of this elemental religion (Rawlinson, *App.* Bk. I. v.).

§ 3. **τῇ Οὐρ.**] See 105. 2. The indeclinables *Μύλιττα* and *Ἀλίττα* are used acc. to one explanation because the Assyrian and Arabian languages have no declensions. The name *Ἀλίττα* becomes *Ἀλιλάτ*, at III. 8. 4.

The name **Μίτρα** is possibly the result of a confusion on the part of Hdt. between this goddess and the Persian sun-god Mithras.

Ch. 132. § 1. **Θυσίη**] = mode of sacrifice. So *μάχη*, 79. 4.

οὐ...οὐκὶ] The asyndeton increases the emphasis. Cf. 71. 3.

χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι. τῶν δὲ ὡς 2
ἑκάστῳ θύειν θέλει, ἐς χῶρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος,
καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνῃ μάλιστα.
ἑωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὔ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι 3
ἀγαθά, ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ
τῷ βασιλέϊ. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσῃσι καὶ αὐτὸς
γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήϊον ἑψήσῃ 4
τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἁπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ
τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα τὰ κρέα· διαθέντος
δὲ αὐτοῦ, μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἵην δὴ
ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὔ
σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον, 5
ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα, καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν ὁ λόγος

στέμμασι] Since (1) Hdt. uses *ἐστεφανωμένος* below, and (2) Xen. says Κῦρος *ἐστεφανωμένος ἔθυε* (*Cyr.* III. 3. 34), it has been proposed here to read *πέμμασι* (cf. *οὐλὰς...πέμματα*, 160. 6). But Bähr is right in retaining the old reading: 'Graecis suis scribebat non Graeco more sacra fieri a Persis.' Hdt. is tacitly contrasting the woollen chaplet on the bare head with the wreathed tiara. The *Cyropaedia* throughout is a romance of Greek life with the scene laid in Persia.

§ 2. **τῶν δὲ**] Sc. *τῶν εἰρημ. θεῶν*. For the change from plur. to sing. (*θέλει*), cf. 195. 1. Bähr supplies a subject from the verb (*ὁ θύων*), comparing II. 47. 4. But this explanation will not suit all passages, e.g. I. 216. 3, where *τις* must be supplied to *γένηται*.

μάλιστα] With *μυρσίνῃ*:=*potissimum*.

§ 3. **οὔ οἱ**] Cf. 109. 2.

κατεύχεται] *κατ-* here = fixedly, earnestly. Cf. *κατήλπιζε*, 'he firmly expected,' VIII. 136. 3; *καταφρονήσας*, I. 59. 4, n.

γίνεται] 'comes in.'

§ 4. **ἑψήσῃ**] This is not inconsistent with the words *οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι* above, which are used with reference merely to the Greek custom of burning *on the altar* portions of the victim in honour of the god. So of the Scythian sacrifices, IV. 60. 2, *οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας οὔτε καταρξάμενος...τρέπεται πρὸς ἕψησιν* (Wess.).

ὦν] Put after its proper place in order that it may come with the verb. Cf. 194. 6, note.

πάντα τὰ] The MSS. have *πάντα κρέα*, which would naturally = 'all kinds of flesh.' But is the insertion of *τά* (adopted by all editors) absolutely necessary, considering Hdt.'s archaisms? Compare *ἄφαρ δ' ἐκ μήρια τάμνον | πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν* (of the sacrifice of an ox), Hom. *Od.* III. 456, and see above, 21. 2, note.

μάγος ἀνὴρ] The name **Μάγοι**, which properly denoted a Median *γένος* (ch. 101), was also applied by the Greeks to the Persian priest-caste.

οἵην δὴ] gives the reason for the statement, *ἐπαείδει θεογονίην*:=*τοιαύτην γάρ τινα*. 'Forms of prayer of this character are frequently found in the Zend Avesta' (the sacred writings of the Parsees). Stein.

§ 5. **λόγος**] *Agendi ratio* (Schw.), almost = our 'motive' (not like *ὁ λόγος αἱρέει*, II. 33. 2). Cf. IV. 127. 3, *ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἱρῇ*, unless the notion strikes us—the fancy takes

133 αἱρέει. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἁπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομί- 1
ζουσι, τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν 2
ἄλλων δικαιεῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν
βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται, ὅλους
ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν
προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπι- 3
φορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἁλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ
Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους, πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι
σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι
παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ. παύεσθαι. οἴνῳ δὲ κάρτα 4
προσκέαται· καί σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον
ἄλλου. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ 5
ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ
δ᾽ ἂν ἅδῃ σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι
προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται. καὶ 6

us. In this phrase and in the Homeric use of *θυμός* (above I. 5) we see the earliest attempts made by Greek thought to describe that within man which prompts him to action, and the influence of these expressions must have done much to determine the form which psychology subsequently took in Greek philosophy. Compare Plato's *τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές*, *Rep.* 440.

CH. 133. § 2. **τῶν ἄλλων**] i.e. *ἢ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι.* Cf. III. 137. 4, *ἐπὶ τίνα τῆσδε προτέρην;* (Kr.).

προβ.] *πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετράποδα* Ἡρόδοτος. *Schol. ad. Il.* XIV. 124 (Wess.). But this is too wide, since the word does not include *ὑποζύγια*, 167. 2. Generally in Hdt. it may be rendered 'cattle.'

§ 3. **σίτοισι**] 'Chief dishes.' St. More prob. it = 'plain food.' In either case it is opposed to *ἐπιφορήμασι.*

καὶ οὐκ ἁλέσι] i.e. one dish after another (*ἁλής = ἀθρόος*). Bekker, who reads *ἅλεσι* (or *ἁλάσι*) here, takes it to mean 'salt,' of which the Greeks were very fond at dessert, because it improved the flavour of the wine (see *Charicles*, § VI. *Exc.* 1). We have evidence that the Persians used salt (Bähr), but not that they took it at dessert. Notice the force of the compounded prepositions: *προτιθέαται* refers to the *pièce de resistance* which is placed before the guests; the *ἐπιφορήματα* are the additional courses or dessert; and as these do not come in all at once, they are said to be served as side dishes (*παραφορέεται*: cf. *παροψίς, παροψώνημα*).

ἀπὸ δείπνου] After the regular dinner. Cf. II. 78.

§ 5. **βουλεύεσθαι**] Tacitus says of the Germans: 'Questions of peace and war are canvassed during their carousals. They think that there is no time when the mind is more ready to throw itself open to ingenuous thoughts, or grow warm with grand ideas...When the sentiments of all have been laid bare, on the morrow the matter is handled anew. Each time has thus a sound reason for its adoption: they debate when they cannot hide their thoughts, they decide when they cannot make mistakes' (*Germ.* 22).

προτιθεῖ] 107. 4, n.

ἢν μὲν ἅδῃ καὶ νήφουσι, χρέονται αὐτῷ· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἅδῃ, 6
μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι
134 ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι 1
ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἄν τις διαγνοίη εἰ ὅμοιοι εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες.
ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους, φιλέουσι τοῖσι στό-
μασι. ἢν δὲ ᾖ οὕτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς 2
φιλέονται· ἢν δὲ πολλῷ ᾖ οὕτερος ἀγενέστερος, προσπίπτων
προσκυνέει τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα 3
ἑωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετά γε ἑωυτούς, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους,
μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς
ἑωυτῶν ἑκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται· νομίζοντες 4
ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ
ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι,
τοὺς δὲ ἑκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἑωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι.
Ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, 5
συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι,
οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ 6

CH. 134. § 1. **Ἐντυγχάνοντες**] Nom. abs. Cf. II. 9. 2.

§ 2. **φιλέονται**] Supply *οἱ κρέσσονες*.

§ 3. **μετὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] 'And so on—the further they go (from home) they esteem others proportionately (less).' *λόγος* here almost = 'ratio' in its mathematical sense. Cf. II. 109. 2. The phrase seems to have meant originally 'in conformity with a certain number or tale,' 'correspondingly equal in number or amount,' and so 'proportionately,' since proportion is an equality of ratios.

§ 4. **τὸν λεγόμενον**] 'That is now being stated.' See 9. 4, n.

§ 5. **καὶ ἦρχε**] 'The nations (composing the Median empire) actually (*καί*) ruled over each other in the following order, viz.:—the Medes, while (*μέν*) lords of all, ruled especially (*καί*) over those who dwelt nearest to them' &c. The first *καί* brings out the fact that the scale of distance above mentioned applies not only to the esteem in which the different nations were held, but also to their actual dominion: the second *καί* answers to *συναπάντων μέν* above (106. 3, n.), and marks the more important of the two facts stated about the Medes. Or else *συναπάντων μὲν* M. stands for M. *μὲν συναπάντων*, in which case *μέν* would be regularly followed by *οὗτοι δέ*. The system described is one of vassal-kingdoms, which probably remained unaltered till the introduction of satrapies by Darius (III. 89. 1).

καὶ τῶν ὁμ.] We should have expected *αὖ* instead of *καί* (Kr.). Prob. *καί* is put with *τῶν ὁμούρων* instead of with *οὗτοι*, so that the passage = *καὶ οὗτοι δὲ τῶν ὁμούρων*.

μάλα] = *deinceps*, Bähr: cf. 181. 3, *ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ*, 'another again upon this.' It has something of the same force in the phrase *μάλ' αὖθις*. Cf. II. 115. 5.

§ 6. **προέβαινε γὰρ**] As the text

135 τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια 1
Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μη-
δικὴν ἐσθῆτα, νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω, φορέ-
ουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. καὶ 2
εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ
καί, ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες, παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι 3
δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ
136 δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. Ἀνδραγαθίη δ' αὕτη 1
ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς
ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα
ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται
ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπὸ πενταέτεος 2
ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος, τρία μοῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ
τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ
ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ

stands it seems most natural to make *τὸ ἔθνος* refer to the Persians: 'for the (Persian) nation went on extending further and further from home its government and superintendence:' i.e. they esteem men acc. to distance, *for* they extended their empire to a distance. Though there is not much point in this, it seems better than to understand *τὸ ἔθνος* in a collective sense (=*τὰ ἔθνεα*) with Abicht, or to refer it to the Medes with Stein. If *τὸ ἔθνος* is to be understood of the Medes, *δέ* must be omitted after *τὸν αὐτὸν* and a comma placed at *ἐχομένων*, so as to make *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.* refer back to *ἦρχε*, 'ruled over each other on the same principle on which the Persians esteem nations (i.e. acc. to position and distance): for the (Median) nation' &c. Notice the difference between *ἄρχον* and *ἐπιτροπεῦον*. The former implies direct personal government, and would only be used of the nearer nations; the latter merely denotes indirect superintendence (through vassal-kings or *ἐπίτροποι*) and would be applied to the more distant countries.

CH. 135. § 1. **τῆς ἑωυτῶν**] See 71. 3. Acc. to Xen. the Median dress was adopted by Cyrus because 'it concealed the form and showed off the beauty and stature of the wearer to the greatest advantage' (*Cyrop.* VIII. 1. 40).

θώρηκας] See II. 182. 1.

§ 3. **κουριδίας**] Homeric. See Buttm. *Lexil.*

CH. 136. § 1. **μετὰ τὸ μ.**] i.e. *μετὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν μάχεσθαι.*

ὃς ἂν] explains *αὕτη*, (=*ἐάν τις*) as if *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς οὗτος* had been written. Cf. II. 65. 7. St. quotes Hom. *Il.* XIV. 81, *βέλτερον, ὃς φεύγων προφύγῃ κακὸν ἠὲ ἁλώῃ*. Thuc. is fond of this form of construction (II. 44. 2: 62. 4; III. 45. 7; VI. 14, *τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι τοῦτο εἶναι, ὃς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ*).

τὸ πολλὸν] 'Number, they think, is strength.' Compare *Ps.* CXXVII. 5.

§ 2. **πενταέτεος**] Supply *παιδός*. Krüg. and Stein suppose a neut. subst., *πεντάετες*, = *quinquennium*, but Plat. *Legg.* 794 *a*, which the latter quotes, does not establish this. In Hom. the neut. forms (*τρίετες*, &c.) are used, but only adverbially.

δίαιταν ἔχει· τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα, ἢν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

137 Αἰνέω μέν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον· αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ 1
μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα
φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ
οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογι-
σάμενος ἢν εὑρίσκῃ πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα
τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. Ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ 2
οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ
ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεό-
μενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἐόντα ἢ μοιχίδια·
οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι τόν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ
138 ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν. Ἄσσα δέ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ 1
ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ
ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν
μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι, τὸν
ὀφείλοντα καί τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. Ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν 2
λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται, οὐδὲ
συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσῃσι· φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν
ἥλιον ἁμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα, τὸν 3

§ 3. **τρεφόμενος**] While still under the nurse (ἡ τροφός).

CH. 137. § 1. **τόνδε τὸν**] See note, ch. 101. The second *μηδένα* belongs to *Περσέων* and *τινά* has to be supplied from the former *μηδένα* to *οἰκετέων*. Cf. 99. 2.

ἀνήκεστον] seems to refer to the mutilations so common in the East.

λογισάμενος] An instance of the application of this law is given VII. 194. 2: but the Persian kings seem often not to have allowed themselves much time for the process. See III. 30. 5; 35. 3; VII. 39. 5; VIII. 90. 5.

§ 2. **ὁκόσα**] Supply either (1) *ἔργα* (Schw.), in which case *ὑποβολιμαῖα* = *ὑποβολιμαίων*, or (2) *τέκνα* (Kr.), in which case *τοιαῦτα* = *πατροφόνα*. The latter seems preferable.

CH. 138. § 1. **ψεύδεσθαι**] 'The Persians were not always so scrupulous on the point of veracity. See III. 72. 6.' Larch. But though the acts ascribed to the seven conspirators are prob. in the main true, their 'discussions and intentions' are not. Grote *H. G.* III. 192 (IV. 302). In the Behistun Inscription lying is constantly mentioned with abhorrence: 'Says Darius the king—For this reason Ormazd brought help to me because that I was not wicked nor a *liar* nor a tyrant...Thou who mayest be king hereafter, the man who may be a *liar* and who may be an evil-doer, do not befriend them' (*Col.* IV. 13, 14). Rawlinson, *App.* Bk. III.

μάλιστα δὲ κ.τ.λ.] = *μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τό, ὥς φασι, ἀναγκαίην εἶναι.* See note on *ἀσθενέος δέ*, 143. 2.

§ 2. **Ὃς ἂν δὲ**] More commonly *ὃς δ' ἄν*. But *ἄν* is regarded as forming one word with the relative.

λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων, πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης,
καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες.
Ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι, οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας 4
ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορέωσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται
139 ποταμοὺς μάλιστα. Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε 1
γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέν τοι οὔ.
τὰ οὐνόματά σφι, ἐόντα ὁμοῖα τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλο- 2
πρεπείῃ, τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν
Σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ Σίγμα. ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὑρήσεις 3

§ 3. **πολλοὶ**] This, as it stands, must refer to the practice of different districts: in some foreigners attacked by leprosy are merely treated like native Persians, i.e. are forbidden to enter the towns (see above), but many people (i.e. the people in many districts) actually drive them out of the country. An ingenious but unsatisfactory conjecture is *πομποί* (cf. ch. 121). Others insert *πολλοί* before *καὶ τὰς λευκάς*. But there is no reason for any change.

περιστερὰς] Apparently on account of their whiteness (cf. *λεύκην*, above).

CH. 139. § 2. **οὐνόματα**] 'Their proper-names.' *ὄνομα* in Hom. is only once used of a place (*Od.* XIII. 248). Hdt. uses it of places, e.g. II. 155. 3, but here it is restricted to the names of persons (and apparently of *men* only: see note § 3) by the use of *σφι*. The meaning 'word' is later than Hdt.

ἐόντα ὁμοῖα] This is usually explained to mean:—'Corresponding, as they do, to bodily (or pps. 'personal:' cf. *ἀνθρώπου σῶμα* for *ἄνθρωπος*, 32. 14, St.) qualities or high position,' i.e. signifying these things, *ὁμοῖα ἐόντα* meaning 'framed after.' Stein cites in illustration several Persian names: *Ἀριάμνης* = *φιλάγαθος*, *Ὑστάσπης* = *κτήσιππος*, *Μιτραδάτης*, = *ἡλιόδωρος*, *Ὀτάνης* = *εὐσώματος*, *Πρηξάσπης* = *φίλιππος*. Schw. suggested that the *σώματα τῶν οὐνομάτων* (i.e. *corpora vocabulorum*, 'roots of words') might be opposed to their terminations (*τελευταί*, implied in *τελευτῶσι*), and the general meaning be that the roots were grand and high-sounding, while the terminations were simple and uniform: but this meaning could only be obtained by taking the two datives in different senses, which would be very harsh. More prob. Hdt. means simply that the Persians generally were tall grand-looking men (like Masistius, IX. 25. 1), and that their names corresponded to their splendour and their *physique* (*τοῖσι σ. καὶ τῇ μ.* pps. a sort of Hendiadys), i.e. were long and fine-sounding.

τελευτῶσι] The plural verb pps. may be explained by the use of *πάντα*, 'each and all.' But see 100. 2, note.

Σὰν] The most primitive Greek alphabet seems to have had two sibilants *San* (=*sh* in sound; acc. to Don. *ts*) and *Sigma* (=*s*). When the introduction of *Xi* or *Zeta* had made the former letter unnecessary, the Dorians seem still to have retained its name for the remaining sibilant. But the Ionic custom of calling it *Sigma* eventually prevailed, as we should naturally have expected from the literary activity of the Ionic race. The Ionians of Asia Minor are said to have been the first to adopt the complete alphabet of twenty-four letters.

§ 3. **ἐς τοῦτο**] With *τελευτῶντα*. Hdt. must have intended to exclude female names from this rule, since they do not come under it either in

τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δὲ οὔ,
140 ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν 1
εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν. τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται, καὶ οὐ
σαφηνέως, περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος· ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται
ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς, πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἑλκυσθῆ-
ναι. μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα· ἐμφα- 2
νέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὴ ὦν τὸν νέκυν
Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν 3
τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
ἁγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι. οἱ δὲ 4
δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα, πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, κτεί-
νουσι· καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως
μύρμηκάς τε καὶ ὄφις, καὶ τἆλλα ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ 5
ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη.
ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

141 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστρά- 1
φατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ

Greek or in ancient Persian. Some names of men on the inscriptions do end in *S*, e.g. *Darayavus* (Darius) *Caïspis* (Teispes). But many 'were pronounced with a vowel-termination, not expressed in writing, and in these the last consonant might be almost any letter.' Rawlinson. Hdt. seems to have been misled by the Greek forms into which the Persian names were cast.

CH. 140. § 1. **τοῦ ἀποθ.** Prob. neuter (97. 1, n.).

πρὶν ἂν...ἑλκυσθῆναι] 'Very rare.' Madv. It seems best to regard the inf. not as directly governed by *πρὶν ἄν*, but as the result of the *oratio obliqua* implied in *λέγεται*. The inf. thus simply takes the place of the subj. which would naturally follow, just as *παρεῖναι*, 24. 11 (see note) takes the place of the imperf. indic. 'Nihil refert conjunctivus an infinitivus addatur.' Hermann.

§ 3. **καὶ τῶν**] 'And especially,' as in the phrase *ἄλλως τε καί*.

ἁγνεύουσι] has a special force as applied to the Egyptian priesthood, the notion of personal purity being the basis of all their ceremonial. See II. 37.

§ 4. **ἑρπετὰ**] 'Non dubito quin apud Herodotum *ἑρπετῶν* nomine non reptilia modo verum etiam *bestiae* comprehendantur.' Wordsw. *ad Theocr.* XV. 118. Cf. *ἥμενος ἢ ἕρπων*, Hom. *Od.* XVII. 158. Prob. here after *τἆλλα* we must mentally supply *τὰ τοιαῦτα*. 'The Zend Avesta prays all men, but esp. the priests, to destroy the animals of Angramainjus (Ahriman), 'the creator of evil creatures,' such as snakes, beasts of prey, &c., and on the other hand to protect and cherish the animals of Ahuramazda (Ormazd), viz. dogs, horses, cattle, and hares.' Stein.

§ 5. **καὶ ἀρχὴν**] 9. 3, note. *καί* as in *καὶ πάλαι*, *καὶ πρότερον*, refers to an implied *νῦν*, 'now, as also from the beginning.' The English idiom would rather have placed the 'also' with the 'now' (2. 3, note). See also II. 28. 1, n.

τὸν πρότ. λόγ.] See 95. 1, note.

Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ
ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προΐσχοντο, ἔλεξέ 2
σφι λόγον· Ἄνδρα, φάς, αὐλητήν, ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θα-
λάσσῃ, αὐλέειν, δοκέοντά σφεας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν. ὡς δὲ
ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ περι-
βαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρύσαι. ἰδόντα 3
δὲ παλλομένους, εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς· "Παύ-
εσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκ-
βαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι." Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι 4
Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες
πρότερον, αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαί
σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων
τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἦσαν ἑτοῖμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ
ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων 5
ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιεβάλλοντο ἕκασ-
τοι, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Μιλησίων·
πρὸς μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὅρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο, ἐπ' οἷσί
περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ 6
πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην, δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρέειν.
142 Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιόν ἐστι, τοῦ μὲν 1
οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυ-

CH. 141. § 1. **ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτ.**] The terms included the payment of tribute (6. 2) and prob. the dismantling of their fortifications (below, § 5).

Κροίσῳ] *κατήκ.* usually takes the gen. A converse instance is the gen. after *πείθεσθαι*, 126. 6.

§ 2. **λόγον**] 'A fable.' So we have λογοποιός used of Aesop, II. 134. 3; and *τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγον* (Xen. *Mem.* II. 8. 13), which begins in the orthodox way:—'In the days when animals could talk' &c. See Müller's *Gr. Lit.* I. 191, foll. The present fable appears among the fragments of Babrias (about 60 B.C.) who collected and versified the earlier Greek fables.

ἔλεξε...φάς] Cf. 122. 2.

§ 3. **μοι**] 'I pray you cease:' the *dativus ethicus* used ironically: or it may be what is called the dative of reference: 'you may cease for me,' i.e. as far as I am concerned.

οὐδ'] 'as if *καὶ νῦν* had been expressed with *παύεσθε*.' Kr. Its force will be best seen by transferring the negative to the verb: = refuse to dance now, since you *also* refused to dance before. Translate 'since ye would not before either come out and dance to my piping.'

§ 4. **αὐτοῦ**] 'Ultro.' See 76. 3.

§ 5. **Πανιώνιον**] Ch. 148.

Μιλησίων] 'Why this favourable exception was extended to them we do not know.' Grote. The other Ionians are mentioned as standing apart from them, above, 18. 3.

ὁ Λυδός] Cf. *τὸν Κόλχον*, 2. 4.

CH. 142. § 1. **τῶν ὡρ. ἐν τῷ κ.**]

σάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. οὔτε 2
γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὠυτὸ ποιέει τῇ Ἰωνίῃ, οὔτε τὰ
κάτω, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην, τὰ
μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. Γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι 3
νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος 4
μὲν αὐτῶν πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ
Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη· αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται,
κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναί σφι. αἵδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ· Ἔφεσος, 5
Κολοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια. αὗται δὲ 6
αἱ πόλιες τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείσῃσι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ
γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι

Hdt. uses much the same language of Greece proper:—ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κεκραμένας ἔλαχε, III. 106. 1.

§ 2. **ἄνω...κάτω**] Since Libya had a very warm (II. 25. 1), and the north of Europe a very cold climate (IV. 28. 1), it is probable that by these words Hdt. really means 'north' and 'south:' but they cannot properly be translated in this way (72. 2, n.). Properly 'neither the parts above nor those below' is merely a rhetorical expression for 'no other country at all:' cf. the proverbial phrase ἄνω κάτω τιθέναι, III. 3. 5. It is not unlikely, as Stein suggests, that the words οὔτε τὰ πρὸς...ἑσπέρην are a marginal note inserted by some commentator to explain τὰ ἄνω and τὰ κάτω. Blakesley thinks that the account which follows is possibly derived from Charon of Lampsacus, and that the phrases are to be explained by taking Lampsacus as a centre, τὰ ἄνω being the country between L. and Ionia, τὰ κάτω the parts beyond Ionia. But even so the meaning would be rather irregular. Abicht gives up the passage.

ποιέει] In later Greek we should prob. have had πάσχει, but the country is represented as producing those effects which would more naturally be attributed to the climate. In Attic ποιεῖν is frequently used of the weather, e.g. τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ; 'what kind of weather is it?' Ar. *Av.* 1501.

§ 3. **νενομίκασι**] Hdt. often uses the perf. of a custom, thus referring back to the time at which the custom originated: = 'have from the beginning.' The accus. after νομίζω may be explained as being in apposition with an implied cognate accus., νόμον.

παραγωγέων] 'Four kinds of deviations.' In the technical language of the grammarians a *paragoge* is an added syllable either in the middle or at the end of the word: e.g. εἰκαθεῖν παραγώγως ἀντὶ τοῦ εἴκειν, *Schol. ad Soph Aj.* quoted by Larcher. But here the word is simply used of dialectical variation.

§ 4. **πρὸς μεσαμβρίην**] Looking southwards M. comes first. We might have had πρός with the gen.: 'starting from the south and going northwards, M. comes first:' cf. πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, 145. 2; 110. 2, n.

σφι = σφίσι (3. 3, n.).

§ 6. **ὁμολογέουσι**] ὁμολογ. simply = 'to agree' (*commune aliquid habere:* cf. II. 81. 3, Schw.), so that with κατὰ γλῶσσαν added it exactly = ὁμοφωνέειν.

οὐδὲν] This must be an exaggera-

Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ
Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἵδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μέν 7
νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὠυτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ'
ἑωυτῶν μοῦνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γί-
νονται.

143 Τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν 1
σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν
νησιώτῃσι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν. οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσάν κω
Περσέων κατήκοοι, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. Ἀπε- 2
σχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν
οὐδὲν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος,

tion, the existence of the Pan-Ionic festival proving that they were able to understand one another readily. 'But the author, who nowhere conceals a grudge against the Ionians, is anxious to bring out prominently the fact that the special purity of descent, on which the twelve cities prided themselves (146. 2: 147. 2), receives but little confirmation from their language.' Stein.

αἱ δύο] 18. 2, n.

μὲν] We may have either *αἱ δύο μὲν* or *αἱ μὲν δύο*. Xen. *An.* v. 8. 24, *τοὺς κύνας τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας διδέασι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιᾶσι, τοῦτον δὲ τὴν νύκτα μὲν δήσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε.*

οἰκέαται] 27. 6, n.

§ 7. **ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν**] 'By themselves.' Acc. to one tradition Hdt. emigrated to Samos from Halicarnassus. 'If this be true, we must consider that we have in the writings of Hdt. the *Samian* variety of the Ionic dialect.' Rawlinson. But 'it may be questioned whether each or any of these sub-dialects possessed a distinct classical style of composition.... There is indeed much reason to believe that the Ionic of Hdt. is a more or less artificial compound of the materials placed at his disposal by these four varieties.' Mure. *Gr. Lit.* IV. 114.

CH. 143. § 1. **ἐν σκ. τοῦ φ.**] 'à l'abri du danger' (St.), *φόβος* denoting the cause for fear: = *κίνδυνος*.

§ 2. **οὗτοι**] The Asiatic Ionians (*τούτων τῶν* Ἰ. above). Hdt. is giving a reason for the fact that the Ionians determined to apply for help, not to those of their own race in Greece proper, but to the Spartans (140. 6). They did so simply (*κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν*) because (1) there was no powerful Ionic state except Athens, and (2) the Athenians (and indeed the rest of the European Ionians) endeavoured as far as possible to sink their Ionic origin. The phrase *οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες* would include, besides the Athenians, all the Euboeans except the Styrians and Carystians (VIII. 46. 4; Thuc. VII. 57. 4), and the inhabitants of the Cyclades with the exception of Thera (Hdt. IV. 148. 4) and Melos (VIII. 48. 2).

ἀσθενέος δὲ κ.τ.λ.] This sentence exhibits several peculiarities. (1) We have *δέ* used after *ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν*, where we should naturally have expected *πλήν* or *ἤ* or *ἀλλά*. Cf. *ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναι, εἰ δ' ἑωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε*, III. 154. 3, where *εἰ δέ* = *πλὴν εἰ*. (2) We have the statement introduced by *δέ* put forward as a simple fact, whereas we should have expected it to be brought forward as a cause (with *ὅτι*) after the use of *κατά*, above: *δέ* thus stands for *πλὴν ὅτι* 'on no other account but

πολλῷ δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα
λόγιμον. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον 3
τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκλῆσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι.
αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο, καὶ 4
ἱρὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον· ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ Σμυρ-
144 ναῖοι)· κατάπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, 1
πρότερον δὲ Ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὦν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ
ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι 2
τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ
τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ 3
ὦν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε· φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε 4
πόλιες, Λίνδος, καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος, καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἁλι-

because.' Cf. *κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ* (= *πλὴν ὅτι ἐφοβέετο*), IX. 109. 4: see also I. 138. 1, note on *μάλιστα δέ*. (3) As a further complication we have a gen. abs. intervening before the verb (*ἦν*), and the sentence resumed by a second *δέ*, which simply repeats and carries on the first: 'except, I say, because.'

ὅτι γὰρ μὴ] 18. 3, n.

§ 3. **ἔφυγον**] So acc. to Hdt. Cleisthenes abolished the old Ionian tribes at Athens, *ὑπεριδὼν Ἴωνας*.

ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν] (and not only so) but: 'nay, even now.' This statement is attacked by the pseudo-Plutarch (*de Herod. malign.* 19).

§ 4. **οὐδὲ—δὲ**] The negative form corresponding to *καί—δέ*.

Σμυρναῖοι] Below, ch. 150.

Ch. 144. § 1. **ὦν**] Cf. 69. 2; 132. 4.

τῶν προσ. Δωρ.] e.g. the inhabitants of Cyme (174. 3), Phaselis (II. 178. 2), Nisyros and Calydna (VII. 99. 3), and Telos (VII. 153. 2). St.

τὸ...τοὺς] These words anticipate the story and so introduce *γάρ* below. Cf. 65. 1. For the Asiatic Dorians, see Grote, *Pt.* II. *ch.* 15.

§ 2. **ἐτίθεσαν**] 'Used to give as prizes.' Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 262, *ἱππεῦσιν μὲν πρῶτα ποδώκεσιν ἀγλά' ἄεθλα | θῆκε*. We have the full phrase *ἐς μέσσον ἔθηκεν*, *Ib.* 704.

§ 4. **τε καὶ**] Prob. there was something in the constitution of the league, which would explain why Lindus stands by itself, while the

καρνησσόν. τούτοισι μέν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέ-
145 θηκαν. Δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ 1
Ἴωνες, καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα,
ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα,
κατάπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας, δυώδεκά ἐστι
μέρεα· Πελλήνη μέν τε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ 2
Αἴγειρα, καὶ Αἰγαὶ, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀείναός ἐστι, ἀπ'
ὅτου ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ 3
Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἑσσω-
θέντες, καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ
Ὤλενος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ
146 Τριταιέες, οἳ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. Ταῦτα δυώ- 1
δεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν. τούτων 2
δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ, ὥς
γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνές εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἢ κάλλιόν
τι γεγόνασι, μωρίη πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ
Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ
τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν· Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι ἀναμεμίχαται 3

other four cities are thus coupled in pairs. Homer mentions the three Rhodian cities in the same order, Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον (*Il.* II. 656).

CH. 145. § 1. **Ἀχαιῶν κ.τ.λ.**] The same tradition, VII. 94. 'The Homeric poems take no notice of Ionians in the northern district of Achaia.' Grote *H. G.* I. 414 (II. 17). See also II. 368 (III. 236).

§ 2. **μέν τε**] The occurrence of *μέν γε* elsewhere does not justify the correction *γε* here. In Hom. we find *μέν τε* followed by *δέ τε* (*Il.* V. 139), and also, as here, by *δέ* only (*Il.* XXI. 464): see 14. 8, note.

ἐν τῇ] Sc. *πόλι*, or *χώρῃ*.

ἀείναος] Most of the rivers of Achaea are dry in summer owing to the nearness of the mountains to the coast.

ὅτου] See 7. 4, note.

ὁ ἐν Ἰταλ.] This river (Κράστις, V. 45. 1) would naturally be mentioned by Hdt. because it flowed near Thurii, his adopted home.

CH. 146. § 2. **ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.**] 'I say this is the reason, *since* the following is not the reason.' This elliptical use of *ἐπεί* implies a transition from one thought to another, and may often be rendered 'though.' Grote notices 'the polemical tone in which the remark is delivered,' and Dahlmann considers that it is directed against certain boastful pretensions of the Milesian Hecataeus.

οὗτοι Ἴων.] Ἴωνες is pred.

Ἄβαντες] Cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 536, *οἳ δ' Εὔβοιαν ἔχον μένεα πνείοντες Ἄβαντες.*

§ 3. **Μινύαι**] Hom. gives Orchomenus the epithet of *Μινύειος* (*Il.* II. 511). They are said to have founded Teos. The **Καδμεῖοι** were the ancient Boeotians (V. 57. 2; Thuc. I. 12. 3), and were connected with Miletus (170. 3, n.), Priene and Colophon. Nothing is known of the connection of the Dryopians

καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μο-
λοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι,
ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ 4
πρυτανηΐου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁρμηθέντες, καὶ νομίζοντες γεν-
ναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν
ἀποικίην, ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας.
διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι 5
σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγα-
τράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, μηδὲ οὐνόματι
βῶσαι τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων
τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἔπειτεν, ταῦτα
ποιήσαντες, αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν 6
147 Μιλήτῳ. Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους, 1
ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας
Πυλίους, ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου· οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφο-

(56. 5; VIII. 43. 2) with Ionia. The Phocians are said to have founded Phocaea.

ἀποδάσμιοι] This prob. (cf. II. 103. 3) implies a species of *secessio*, the result of internal dissensions (St.). Translate 'detached.'

Μολοσσοί] Of these and the remaining peoples named nothing certain is known.

ἄλλα ἔθν.] Such as the Carians, Lycians, &c.

§ 4. **πρυτανηΐου**] This implies that they were full Athenian citizens. See Smith's *Dict. Ant. Colonia*. For the connection of Athens with the Ionian emigration, see Thuc. I. 2. 6.

οὗτοι δὲ] repeats *οἱ δὲ* above.

Καείρας] i. e. women of the country: Miletus, Myus and Priene were in Caria (142. 4).

§ 5. **ἐπήλασαν**] Acc. to Buttmann (*Lexil.* *ὅρκος*) *ἐπ-* refers to the thing, and *νόμον θέμεναι* must be joined to *σφίσι αὐτῇσι*. *ὅρκον ἐπελάσαι* means therefore 'to lay a solemn oath on a thing,' 'bind oneself to it by an oath.' But *ὅρκους προσάγων σφι* (VI. 74. 2) is in favour of taking *σφίσι αὐτῇσι* with *ἐπήλασαν*. On this view *ἐπελαύνειν* will only be a stronger form of *προσάγειν* (compare *ὅρκος ἐπακτός*, a compulsory oath, Isocr. *Dem.* 23). St. Translate: 'forcibly laid oaths upon one another.' The Lat. phrase *jusjurandum adigere* is not really parallel, since there the real object of the verb is always *aliquem*, either expressed or implied.

τὸν ἑωυτῆς] As if *μηδεμίαν* had been used above. Compare the change from plur. to sing. 132. 2.

§ 6. **ἦν γινόμενα**] 'It was at M. that these things went on.' The periphrasis for *ἐγίνετο* emphasizes the duration of the action.

CH. 147. § 1. **βασιλέας δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] Hdt. states three arguments against the special claims of the Asiatic Ionians:—(1) they were for the most part a mixed race originally: (2) those of them who, like the Milesians, were originally Athenian citizens, took foreign wives: (3) the chiefs whom they set over them were not of Ionic descent.

Γλαύκου] Cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 876; VI. 119.

Καύκ. Πυλίους] i.e. the Caucones of Triphylia (IV. 148. 4). The Ho-

τέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλόν τι 2
τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες
Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγόνασι καὶ
Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὁρτήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων 3
καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπα-
148 τούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον 1
ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος,
κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ· ἡ δὲ
Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη, πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατή-
κουσα Σάμῳ, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες
ἄγεσκον ὁρτήν, τῇ ἔθεντο οὔνομα Πανιώνια. πεπόνθασι δὲ 2

meric Pylus was apparently not in the territory of the Caucones: see *Od.* III. 366. St. Acc. to Hdt. Codrus and Melanthus emigrated from Pylus to Athens (V. 65. 4).

συναμφοτέρους] This implies that the two races intermarried.

§ 2. **ἔστωσαν δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] Not 'let us call then those that are of pure descent Ionians,' but 'let us call them then the really thorough-bred Ionians,'—a hit at their extravagant pretensions. *ἔστωσαν* implies giving a new name. Cf. Aristot. *Eth.* II. 7. 3, *ἐλλείποντες δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ πάνυ γίγνονται· διόπερ οὐδ' ὀνόματος τετυχήκασιν, ἔστωσαν δὲ ἀναίσθητοι.* *δέ* repeats *ἀλλά*, and introduces the apodosis after the clause *ἀλλὰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.* See II. 116. 1, n. *καί* adds emphasis:='not merely Ionians but' (117. 1, n.).

εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες κ.τ.λ.] 'We must construe both these tests of Ionism with indulgence.' Grote *H. G.* II. 367 (III. 234), n.

§ 3. **πλὴν Ἐφεσίων**] The Ephesians must have kept the feast originally, since one of the months in their calendar, which nearly corresponds with the month in which the feast was kept at Athens (*Pyanepsion*), was called *Ἀπατουρεών* (see *Dict. Ant. Calendarium*, *Apaturia*).

καὶ οὗτοι] *καί* has a restrictive force (102. 4).

φόνου] Advantage was often taken of feasts for purposes of assassination or revolution. Thus Hipparchus was assassinated at the Panathenaea, 'the only day on which no suspicion attached to large bodies of citizens wearing arms,' Thuc. VI. 56. 2.

CH. 148. § 1. **πρὸς ἄρκτον τετρ.**] i.e. on the north-side of the promontory (*ἄκρη*, below).

ἐξαραιρημένος] 'Set apart:' cf. *ἐξαίρετος*, II. 98. 1. With the anomalous reduplication compare *ὀρώρυκτο*, 186. 4.

Ἑλικωνίῳ] The god of Helice (145. 3): *Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα*, Hom. *Il.* XX. 404.

κατήκουσα Σ.] 'Stretching (out to sea: cf. *οὖρος ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον*, VII. 22. 3) off Samos.' This local dative is uncommon except with names of cities. Krüg. compares *τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον*, 'touched at Delos,' Thuc. III. 29. 1; Jelf *λίμνῃ κεκλιμένος Κηφισίδι*, Hom. *Il.* V. 709.

ἐς τὴν] refers, not to Samos, but to Mycale.

§ 2. **πεπόνθασι δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] Stein thinks that this sentence was originally a marginal note, in answer to a previous commentator, who had written *Ἰωνικῶς* or *Ἰακῶς* over the termination of *Πανιώνια*. Certainly the use of *πάσχω* here is an idiom which one would hardly have expected in Hdt.

οὔτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὁρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατάπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα. αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιές εἰσι.

149 Αἵδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη, ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισσαι, 1
Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη,
Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια· αὗται ἕνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλιες αἱ
ἀρχαῖαι. μία γάρ σφεων παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνη.
ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δυώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ 2
Αἰολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὡρέων
δὲ ἥκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες.

150 Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσει ἑσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ 1
τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφω- 2
νίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὁρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευ-
μένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληΐσαντες, ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν.
βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ 3
ἔπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας.
ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων, ἐπιδιείλοντό σφεας αἱ 4
ἕνδεκα πόλιες, καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας.

151 Αὗται μέν νυν αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν 1
τῇ Ἴδῃ οἰκημένων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους 2
ἔχουσαι, πέντε μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται· τὴν γὰρ
ἕκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκεομένην Ἀρίσβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μη-

τοῦτο] = having the termination, *a*.

κατάπερ τῶν Π.] 139. 2.

CH. 149. § 1. **αἱ Αἰολίδες**] Grote *H. G.* Part II. ch. 14.

Φρικωνὶς] Prob. so called from Phricium, a mountain above Thermopylae, the Aeolic emigrants having come from Locris.

αἱ ἀρχαῖαι] These older cities are opposed to the later Aeolic settlements round mount Ida (151. 1). See Grote.

σφεων] depends on *παρελύθη*, = 'was set loose from,' *λύεσθαι* referring to the severing of the *Bund*.

§ 2. **ἦσαν**] 'Used to be,' before this.

καὶ αὗται] as well as the Ionian cities.

ἀμείνω] = more fertile: cf. *ἀρίστη*, 103. 2.

ἤκουσαν] 30. 8, n.

CH. 150. § 1. **ὑπεδέξαντο**] Sc. *οἱ Σμυρναῖοι*. *ὑπ-* = under shelter.

§ 3. **τῶν Ἰώνων**] Colophon was an Ionian town (142. 5).

§ 4. **ἐπιδιείλ. σφεας**] Not 'distributed themselves afresh,' but 'distributed them (the Smyrnaeans) among themselves.' So *ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλις ἐπόρθεον*, v. 116. 2. For *Σμυρναίων... σφεας*, see 3. 3, n. 'Smyrna appears to have become Ionic before B. C. 688.' Grote. Cf. 16. 2.

CH. 151. § 1. **κεχωρίδαται**] = *χωρὶς εἰσι* (cf. *κεχωρίσθαι*, 4. 4).

§ 2. **πέντε μὲν**] Answered by *ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία*.

ἕκτην] is pred., *τὴν* belonging to *οἰκεομένην*, which is the imperf. participle.

*θυμναῖαι, ἐόντας ὁμαίμους. ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις,
καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν Νήσοισι καλεομένῃσι ἄλλη μία. Λεσ-* 3
*βίοισι μέν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατάπερ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς
νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἕαδε
κοινῇ Ἴωσι ἕπεσθαι, τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.*

152 *Ὡς δὲ ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων* 1
*οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα) εἵλοντο
πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ* 2
*δὲ, πορφύρεόν τε εἷμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι
πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε
πολλὰ, τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χρῄζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔ
κως ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἴωσι. οἱ μὲν* 3
*δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων
τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς
μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ
Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις
σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λακρίνης,
ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 4
μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων.

153 *Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπείρεσθαι τοὺς* 1
*παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων, τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι
καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος, ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι. πυνθανό-* 2
μενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην· "Οὐκ

Ἀρίσβαν...ἐόντας] Cf. 67. 3; 211. 2.

ἄλλη μία] i.e. the scattered inhabitants of these small islands formed one state in the league.

CH. 152. § 1. **οἱ ἄγγελοι]** See 141. 6.

γὰρ] *As soon as* they arrived (for there was no time to be lost) they chose etc.

τὸν Φ.] This seems to imply that each state sent one envoy.

§ 2. **πορφύρεον]** 'An attractive spectacle amid the plain clothing universal at Sparta.' Grote. 'Hdt. thinks this fact deserves prominence as a mark of Ionian luxury.' St.

εἷμα] = *ἱμάτιον* (155. 6).

ὡς ἂν] 75. 5.

καταστὰς] implies a 'set' speech.

ἔλεγε πολλὰ] This would not help them at Sparta: see III. 46. 1.

ἀπέδοξέ σφι] 'They resolved on the contrary' (172. 3).

§ 3. **ὡς μὲν]** Cf. 131. 1.

§ 4. **ἀπερέοντα...ῥῆσιν]** This may = 'to deliver a verbal message' (L. and S. *Lex.*), *ἀπο-* thus merely meaning 'forth,' as in *χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν*, Hom. *Il.* IX. 309. But more prob. here as in other passages in Hdt. *ἀπο-* anticipates the following negative (cf. 155. 6). *ῥῆσιν* is thus a cognate accus. (instead of *ἀπόρρησιν*), depending on part only of the verbal notion.

CH. 153. § 2. **οὐκ ἔδεισά κω]** Krüg. reads *κως* here and at IV. 97. 5,

ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος, ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμοῦντες
ἐξαπατῶσι. τοῖσι, ἢν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα 3
ἔσται ἔλλεσχα, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήϊα." Ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας 4
Ἕλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς κτησάμενοι
ὠνῇ τε καὶ πρήσει χρέωνται. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι 5
οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφί ἐστι τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή.
Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, 6
τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν, τόν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν,
Πακτύῃ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα,
Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ

and Stein explains *οὐκ...κω* as equivalent to *οὔ κως, οὐδαμῶς*, comparing Hom. *Od.* XVI. 161, *οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς*. But this is unnecessary. The meaning may be either 'never yet did I fear,' like *οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας*, *Il.* I. 262; or more prob. 'not yet do I fear,' like *οὔ κω λέγω*, 32. 7. On this latter view, *ἔδεισα* is an example of the idiomatic use of the aorist, so common in the dramatists, e.g. *παρῄνεσα*, Soph. *Phil.* 1434; *ἀπέπτυσα*, Eur. *Hec.* 1276; *ὦ 'γαθὲ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν δὴ κατεγέλασα*, Plat. *Leg.* III. 686, the action, though really in present time, being referred by the aorist to the moment immediately preceding the speech: = 'I do not yet fear, I felt' (i.e. just now, while being informed about the Lacedaemonians).

ὀμοῦντες] Nowhere else used: but Bähr does not adopt Bekker's correction, *ὀμνύντες*.

§ 3. **ἔλλεσχα**] 'Matter for gossip,' i.e. in their *ἀγορά*. The *λέσχη* was an important institution in Dorian states. At Sparta each tribe had its *λέσχη* or club-room (*Dict. Ant.*). So *γενομένης λέσχης*, of a discussion among Spartans, IX. 71. 5: cf. II. 32. 1, n.

§ 4. **τοὺς πάντας**] 'The Greeks, as a body.'

ἀπέρρ.] 'Cast in the teeth of.'

κτησάμενοι] Stein reads *στησάμενοι*, comparing *ἀγορὴ οὐκ ἵσταταί σφι*, VI. 58. 7. Certainly we should have expected *ἐκτημένοι*, like *μαντήϊον ἐκτῆσθαι*, I. 49. But the aor. is used by Homer (for the pluperf.) in the sense of 'possessed:' *Il.* IX. 400, *κτήμασι τέρπεσθαι, τὰ γέρων ἐκτήσατο Πηλεύς*, *Od.* XIV. 4, *κήδετο οἰκήων, οὓς κτήσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*.

§ 5. **οἱ Πέρσαι**] So Xenophon in his ideal Persian state only allows an *ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά*, *Cyrop.* I. 2. 3 (compare Aristotle's double *ἀγορα*, *Pol.* IV. 12). Even in Greece the commercial side of the *ἀγορά* was never a subject of national pride. Notice the use of *ἀγοραῖος* (II. 141. 4; 167. 2). The ancient Greek commercial *ἀγορά* has its counterpart at the present day in the Oriental bazaar.

§ 6. **ἐπιτρέψας**] A trace of the way in which the Persian empire was administered before the time of Darius: 'Tabalus being governor of Sardis, Pactyas receiver-general of the treasury, and Mazares (156. 3) commander-in-chief.' Heeren.

κομίζειν] Not 'to carry to Agbatana' (for this office he would prob. have named a Persian, not a Lydian), but simply 'to take care of,' like *κτήματα μὲν, τά μοι ἔστι, κομιζέμεν ἐν μεγάροισιν*, Hom. *Od.* XXIII. 355. St. So *κόμιζε* (of a plant) 'take care of it,' 'rear it up.' Aesch. *Cho.* 262.

ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἦν 7
ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι,
ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον
154 πέμπειν στρατηγόν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν
Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπό τε Ταβάλου
καὶ Κύρου· καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων
πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ
τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἑωυτῷ στρατεύ-
εσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον,
ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.

155 Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον 1
τάδε· "Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων
ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοὶ, ὡς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω, μὴ ἄριστον ᾖ ἐξανδραποδί-
σασθαί σφεας· ὁμοίως γάρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιη- 2
κέναι, ὡς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ
φείσαιτο. ὣς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα
ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέ-
δωκα· καὶ ἔπειτα θωυμάζω, εἴ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι;" Ὁ μὲν δὴ 3
τά περ ἐνόεε, ἔλεγε· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστά-
τους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα
εἴρηκας· σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην
ἐξαναστήσῃς, ἀναμάρτητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ

τὴν πρώτην] An adverbial phrase like *τὴν ταχίστην* (cf. *τὴν πρώτην ἰέναι*, III. 134. 8).

εἶναι] This has been explained as added pleonastically after *ἐν οὐδενὶ λ. ποιησάμενος*, like *ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι* (II. 44. 3). But more prob. *εἶναι* is to be taken with *τὴν πρώτην* in a restrictive sense (172. 1, n.); = 'at least to begin with.' Cf. *τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι*, VII. 143. 5, and the common phrases *τὸ νῦν εἶναι*, *τὸ τήμερον εἶναι* (Bähr).

§ 7. **τε...δὲ**] See II. 126. 2, n. For the misplacement of *τε*, cf. I. 117. 3.

CH. 154. **ἅτε τὸν χρ. ἔχων**] This gives a reason for *ἐμισθοῦτο*.

CH. 155. § 1. **μὴ**] On the analogy of verbs of fearing: 'I doubt whether it be not best.'

§ 2. **ὡς εἴ τις κ.τ.λ.**] An allusion to the Greek proverb, attributed to Stasinus (II. 117. 1, n.), *νήπιος, ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει* (Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 15. 14; II. 21. 11). Below, § 4, another Greek proverbial saying is put into the mouth of Croesus.

Λυδῶν] Governed by *πατέρα*.

ἄγω] as prisoner: captivity being equivalent to death.

§ 3. **τὰ μὲν**] *τά* is demonstrative: *οἰκότα* predicate.

πάντα] Cf. 99. 2; II. 95. 3.

τῶν νῦν ἑστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγώ τε ἔπρηξα, 4
καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω. τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα,
Πακτύης γάρ ἐστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις,
οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε 5
αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὡς μήτε ἀποστέωσι, μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι.
ἄπειπε μέν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήϊα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δέ 6
σφεας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι, καὶ κοθόρνους ὑπο-
δέεσθαι· πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ 7
καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὦ
βασιλεῦ, γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν
156 δεινοί τοι ἔσονται, μὴ ἀποστέωσι." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά 1
οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρετώτερα ταῦτα εὑρίσκων Λυδοῖσι, ἢ ἀνδρα-
ποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας· ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἢν μὴ ἀξιό-
χρεων πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύ-
σασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δέ, μὴ καὶ ὕστερόν κοτε οἱ Λυδοί, ἢν τὸ

ἑστεώτων] Thuc. v. 46. 1, *εὖ ἑστώτων τῶν πραγμάτων* (Kr.).

§ 4. **κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας**] Hom. *Od.* XIX. 92, *ἔρδουσα μεγὰ ἔργον, ὃ σῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις.* On the usual explanation of this phrase (L. and S. *Lex.*) the metaphor would seem to have come from the custom of wiping the sword on the head of the murdered man: *κἀπὶ λουτροῖσιν κάρᾳ | κηλῖδας ἐξέμαξεν*, Soph. *El.* 445. But neither here nor in the passage from the Odyssey is there any allusion to punishment by death. Hence Stein ingeniously suggests that the verb may be *ἀν-αμαγειν* (*ἀμ-αγειν* =*cogere, coacervare*, whence *ἄμαξα*), so that the meaning would be: 'That which happened before was my own work, and I bear the burden of it heaped upon my own head.' Cf. *τίνες εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες*, Dem. *de Cor.* 323. It is difficult to find any parallel for the combination of *ἀνά* and *ἅμα* in composition, but this interpretation seems simpler than the older one. There is a similar doubt as to whether *προεσάξαντο* is to be referred to *ἄγω* or *σάσσω* (190. 3, n.).

τὰ δὲ νῦν π.] Put in construction with *ἀδικέων* (the nearer verbal notion) instead of with *δότω δίκην*. See 24. 7, n.

τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρ.] This is slightly inconsistent with 153. 6.

§ 6. **ἀρήϊα**] Added because *ὅπλα* in Hdt. is not entirely restricted to the meaning, 'weapons' (cf. VII. 25. 1). So Hom. *Il.* X. 407, *ποῦ δέ οἱ ἔντεα κεῖται ἀρήϊα*; where the epithet marks the distinction from other *ἔντεα*, e.g. *ἔντεα δαιτός* (*Od.* VII. 232).

ὑποδύνειν] This implies that they had not hitherto worn both garments together. Either was worn separately: cf. *οἰοχίτων* (*Od.* XIV. 489) with *ἀχίτων*, i.e. wearing only the *ἱμάτιον* (Xen. *Mem.* I. 6. 2). The *κόθορνος* had a thick sole; hence it would tend to make the Lydians *ποδαβροί* (55. 2).

§ 7. **κιθαρίζειν**] depends on *παιδεύειν*.

CH. 156. § 1. **ταῦτά οἱ ὑπ.**] 'Evidently an hypothesis to explain the contrast between the Lydians of Hdt.'s time and the old irresistible horsemen of the days of Croesus.' Grote.

ἐπιστάμενος] 122. 1, n.

παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπό-
λωνται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ, καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς, 2
ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, 3
ταῦτά οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι, τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπε-
τίθετο· καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας, οἳ
μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην
157 πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ 1
τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἤθεα τὰ Περσέων. Πακ- 2
τύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἰόντα,
δείσας ᾤχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλά- 3
σας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δή κοτε
ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὗρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι,
πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπι-
τελέειν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν
δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε 4
ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους, ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην· οἱ δὲ
Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν, συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνῷσαι τὸν ἐν
Βραγχίδῃσι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήϊον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, 5
τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρέεσθαι. ὁ δὲ
χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.
158 Πέμψαντες ὦν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους, 1
εἰρώτεον περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν

ὑπεκδράμωσι] 'Should they escape the present imminent danger.' *τρέχειν* often implies a notion of danger: *περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων*, VII. 57. 2; *τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς*, IX. 37. 3. *ὑπεκ-* either as in *ὑπεκτιθέναι* (V. 65. 2) 'to convey out and place in safety,' or more simply 'from under.'

CH. 157. § 1. **ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ**] Cf. 'quas ex itinere literas misisti.' Cic. *Fam.* III. 9.

ἤθεα τὰ Π.] i.e. Agbatana (153. 6), which was properly the home of the Median race (98. 5). But Hdt. uses the language of his own day, when the distinction between Mede and Persian was scarcely recognized. See note, 163. 3.

§ 2. **ᾤχετο φεύγων**] See 160. 5, n.

§ 3. **ὅσην δή κοτε**] See note on *οἷα δή*, 86. 6.

τοὺς ἀμφὶ Π.] The phrase includes Pactyas himself.

§ 4. **συμβουλῆς πέρι**] *πέρι* denotes the subject on which they referred to the god: 'on the matter of the counsel which they had to take together,' like *περὶ σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας*, VII. 149. 2.

§ 5. **ὑπὲρ**] The temple stood on high ground. Its remains are still 'visible to one who sails along the coast.' *Dict. Geogr.* No one would gather from this passage that Hdt. had already twice mentioned the oracle (46. 2; 92. 2). Cf. 170. 3.

CH. 158. § 1. **τοὺς Βρ.**] See 92. 2, n.

ὁκοῖόν τι] An unnecessarily in-

χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο,
ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα 2
ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι. ὁρμεωμένου δὲ ταύτῃ 3
τοῦ πλήθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν
ἐὼν δόκιμος, ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε
τῷ χρησμῷ, καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως·
ἐς ὃ, τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι, ἤεσαν
159 ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. Ἀπικομένων δὲ 1
ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος, ἐπει-
ρωτέων τάδε· "Ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτύης ὁ 2
Λυδὸς, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δέ μιν
ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαί-
νοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἱκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμή-
καμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως,
ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν 3
αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρ-
σῃσι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίεε τάδε· 4
περιϊὼν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ, ἐξαιρέε τοὺς στρουθοὺς, καὶ ἄλλα
ὅσα ἦν νενεοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος 5
δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι,
φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε·

definite phrase (like *τὰ τῶν ὀν. ἐχόμενα* for *ὀνείρατα*, 120. 4), since there were but two or three courses open to them: we have *ὁκότερα*, 159. 2.

§ 3. **Ἡρακλείδεω**] About forty years later (500 B.C.), we find an Aristagoras, son of Heraclides, tyrant of Cyme (V. 37. 1).

ἔσχε...ἐς ὃ] So *ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὃ σφι ἔαδε*, IV. 201. 4. Generally we find the imperfect or present before *ἐς ὃ*, but it is often coupled very loosely on to the preceding clause: = 'so that at last.' See II. 116. 1, n.

CH. 159. § 2. **δειμαίνοντες**] 'Although fearing.'

τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ] 'Thy counsel:' cf. *ἐθέλω τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις, πυθέσθαι*, VII. 101. 3.

ποιέωμεν] Cf. 206. 5.

§ 3. **ὁ δ'**] The god, Apollo: to whom alone Hdt. applies the title *ὦναξ* (§ 2).

§ 5. **ἀδύτου**] Here apparently distinct from the *μέγαρον*, in which the *θεοπρόποι* would be. Prob. not all temples were constructed alike: cf. *ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἵζοντο* (at Delphi), and the Pythia's answer, *ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο*, VII. 140.

φέρουσαν] Probably with a local signification like *τὰ πρὸς νότον φέροντα*, VII. 201. 3; *ὁδὸς φέρουσα ἐς Ἱρόν*, II. 122. 3. The word refers to that modification in the sound of a voice, by which we can tell, without seeing the speaker, whether we ourselves are addressed or not. *χρηστήριον ἐς Ἀργείους φέρον* (VI. 19. 1) is different.

"'Ανοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιέειν; τοὺς 6
ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις;" 'Αριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ 7
ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· "Ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω
τοῖσι ἱκέτῃσι βοηθέεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἱκέτην
ἐκδιδόναι;" Τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε· "Ναὶ κελεύω, 8
ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ
160 ἱκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον." Ταῦτα ὡς 1
ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόν-
τες ἀπολέσθαι, οὔτε παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι,
ἐς Μυτιλήνην αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσι. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπι- 2
πέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύην
παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δή· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε
εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ, ὡς ἔμαθον 3
ταῦτα πρησσόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον
ἐς Λέσβον, ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ἐξ 4
ἱροῦ 'Αθηναίης Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων, ἐξεδόθη·
ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ 'Αταρνέϊ μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ 'Αταρνέος
τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην 5
μέν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες
Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, 6

§ 8. **ἵνα γε ἀσεβ.**] Compare the ironical answer given to Glaucus at Delphi, VI. 86. 13. Notwithstanding this attempt to evade responsibility, the temple at Branchidae was eventually plundered by the Persians during the Ionic revolt (VI. 19. 4).

CH. 160. § 1. **Μυτιλήνην**] The Lesbians and Chians (§ 3) had nothing to fear from the Persians (143. 1).

§ 2. **ἐκδιδόναι**] The inf. depends on *παρεσκευάζοντο*.

ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δή] 'For such and such a price:' *ἐπί*, because the price was the *basis* of the negotiations: cf. 60. 3.

§ 4. **Πολιούχου**] 'Guardian of the *citadel*' (14. 8, n.): a title derived from the Athenian use of the term *πόλις* (Thuc. II. 15. 8; V. 23. 5).

τοῦ δὲ 'Α. τούτου] "*'Αταρνέος* governed by *χῶρος* would only give the (non-) sense: 'a part of A. belongs to M.' Hdt. prob. wrote *ὁ δὲ 'Αταρνεὺς οὗτος* or simply *ὁ δέ*, so that *τοῦ 'Α. τούτου* would have arisen from what follows (§ 6).' Krüg. Possibly however *'Αταρνέος* may denote the town, so that *τοῦ 'Α. τούτου* (ὁ) *χῶρος* would = *ager hic Atarnensis*, the sentence fully expressed being *τοῦ δὲ 'Α. τ. ὁ χῶρος ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς* M., but the phrase is a strange one.

§ 5. **Π. μέν νυν**] Hdt.'s account is confirmed by Charon of Lampsacus: *Πακτύης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο προσελαύνοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν Περσικὸν ᾤχετο φεύγων* (above, 157. 2) *ἄρτι μὲν ἐς Μυτιλήνην· ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς Χίον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε Κῦρος*,—though the pseudo-Plutarch cites the passage to prove Hdt.'s *κακοήθεια*.

§ 6. **οὗτος**] anticipates *ὅτε*. 'But

ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ, οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα. Χῖοι μέν νυν Πακτύην
161 ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε, ληΐην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην δὲ ὡσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ.

162 Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἅρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς 1
στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληΐην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὡνὴρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου 2
στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἵρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε. πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίῃ 3
Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε.

163 Οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλ- 1
λήνων ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ τόν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ

that was no short time which passed wherein.'

πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο] This forms one verbal notion (= *προέχεε*), and so takes another accus. Cf. 68. 2. The *πρόχυσις* was the sprinkling of meal on the victim's head.

ἀπείχετο] Very uncommon in a passive sense. Prob. Abicht is right in explaining it as the middle voice (like *ἐπέσσετο*), and supplying *ἕκαστος* (from *οὐδείς*, above) for its subject. Cf. 99. 2, n.

τὰ πάντα γινόμενα] Produce of every kind; not merely barley and wheat (St.).

CH. 161. **τοὺς συμπ.**] i. e. *τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους*, above, ch. 154. Magnesia is situated on a tributary of the Maeander.

ὡσαύτως] = *ἐξηνδραποδίσατο*.

CH. 162. § 1. **καὶ αὐτὸς**] As well as Mazares.

τραπέζῃ] Virtually = 'dish,' the courses being served on separate trays (119. 4).

§ 2. **χώμασι**] See Thuc. II. 75, foll.

ὅκως] See 17. 4, n.

τειχήρεας π.] 'Having shut them up (i. e. the inhabitants: cf. 151. 2) within their walls.'

ἐπόρθεε] = 'stormed.' Schw. quotes Diodor. Sicul. (XV. 5), *τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν*.

§ 3. **Ἰωνίης**] Acc. to Stein this depends on *πρώτῃ*, like *Ἑλλήνων πρώτοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι*, 26. 1. More prob. however it depends on *Φωκαίῃ*, = 'in Ionia' (see note on *τῆς πόλιος*, 84. 4). Krüger says that in this case we must read *τῆς Ἰωνίης*, but cf. *Αἰγύπτου*, II. 113. 2; *οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ*, III. 17. 1.

CH. 163. § 1. **τόν τε Ἀδρίην**] Sc. *κόλπον*. 'The phrase includes the adjacent land. So often Πόντος and Ἑλλήσποντος.' Kr.

τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαν-
τες. ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ, ἀλλὰ πεντη- 2
κοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες
ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέϊ τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν
Ἀργανθώνιος· ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα,
ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ
προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαιέες οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο, ὡς τὰ μὲν 3
πρῶτά σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευσε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ χώρης
οἰκῆσαι, ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε
τοὺς Φωκαιέας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς
αὔξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν.
ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ 4

Ἰβηρίην] i. e. the Spanish peninsula and the Mediterranean coast of France. Tartessus (prob. = 'Tarshish') was near the site of the mod. *Cadiz*.

καταδέξαντες] Some Samians had discovered Tartessus about a century before (IV. 152. 3): but the Phocaeans first 'pointed out the way' for a regular traffic.

§ 2. **πεντηκοντέροισι**] Though their object was commercial, they did not employ merchant vessels of the ordinary build, 'prob. for fear of the Etruscan pirates.' Bähr. A fragment of Anacreon refers to Arganthonius: ἐγὼ δ' οὔτ' ἂν Ἀμαλθίης | βουλοίμην κέρας, οὔτ' ἔτεα | πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν | Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεῦσαι.

πάντα] τὰ πάντα Hermann (*ad Viger.* 94), who compares ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ('in all') εἷς καὶ ἐννενήκοντα, IX. 70. 8, and says that πᾶς, without the article, when joined with numerals, either = *e quoque genere* (see 50. 1, note), or *tota*, implying that nothing is to be subtracted from the number. But this latter is prob. the meaning here (Schw.). τὰ πάντα (*in universum*, 'in all') implies that the number is small, considering the circumstances (cf. 214. 4); whereas πάντα (= *integros*, *totos*, 'full 120 years') implies that the number is a large one. Cf. εἴκοσι πάντα, Hom. *Od.* V. 244. Apparently there is no other instance of this use in Hdt.

§ 3. **οὕτω δή τι**] Cf. 185. 4.

ὡς...ἐκέλευσε] ὡς (= ὥστε in later Greek: 199. 8, n.) with the indic. is not uncommon in Hdt., who apparently makes no distinction between this use and that of the infinitive. Cf. ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε ἔσχον, VI. 83. 1. In later Greek the indic. is only used where ὥστε may be rendered by *qua re*. Klotz, *Devar.* 772.

ὁ δὲ] 112. 3, n.

τὸν Μῆδον] Taken apart from the context this might refer to Cyrus, or might simply mean the Persian people (69. 2). For the inaccurate use of Μῆδος, cf. 206. 1; Thuc. I. 69. 9: above, 157. 1, note. But this involves a chronological difficulty, to obviate which it has been proposed to read τὸν Λυδόν. See on this point Grote, *H. G.* III. 174 (IV. 274), n.

περιβαλέσθαι] 'Wherewith to throw a wall round their town.' Compare the construction of περιβάλλουσι, 215. 3. The infinitive denotes the result or purpose of the main verb (cf. 32. 8), like ἔδοσαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν, Thuc. II. 27. 3.

ὀλίγοι στάδιοί εἰσι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ
164 συναρμοσμένων. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ 1
τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος, ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρα-
τιήν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προϊσχόμενος ἔπεα ὥς οἱ κατα-
χρᾷ, εἰ βούλονται Φωκαιέες προμαχεῶνα ἕνα μοῦνον τοῦ
τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἴκημα ἓν κατιρῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες, 2
περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ, ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι
ἡμέρην μίαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται
αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
τείχεος. Ὁ δ' Ἅρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλ- 3
λοιεν ποιέειν, ὅμως δέ σφι παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. Ἐν ᾧ 4
ὦν ὁ Ἅρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οἱ
Φωκαιέες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους,
ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ
καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα,
χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα
ἐσθέντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ
165 Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι. Οἱ Φω- 1
καιέες, ἐπεί τε σφι Χῖοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεο-
μένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ
αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκληϊσθῇ

§ 4. **εἰσι**] The verbs *εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι, καλέεσθαι* often agree in *number* with the predicate (93. 5; II. 15. 7), just as their participles agree in *gender* with the predicate (68. 4).

τοῦτο δὲ] 'As if before we had had *τοῦτο μέν*, instead of *καί*.' Ab. But though we often find *τοῦτο δέ* in this sense after *μέν* (V. 45. 1; VIII. 60. 5), prob. here *τοῦτο* simply = *τὸ τεῖχος*. Supply *ἐστί*.

CH. 164. § 1. **τοιῷδε**] See note, ch. 101.

κατιρῶσαι] To dedicate (to the king in token of submission). Cf. 92. 5, where though the word can be taken in its literal sense it virtually = 'confiscate.'

§ 4. **τὰς πεντηκ.**] 'Their galleys:' those mentioned above, 163. 2.

χωρὶς ὅ τι] More usually *χωρὶς ἤ*, as at II. 77. 8.

χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος] These would be left behind owing to their weight. The pictures were prob. on walls and so could not be moved (Bähr), although Greek artists seem generally to have painted upon panels (*πίνακες*).

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα] *δέ* resumes after the intervening clause, *χωρὶς κ.τ.λ.*

CH. 165. § 1. **Οἰνούσσας**] Between Chios and the main land: hence *ἀποκληϊσθῇ* below.

ὠνεομένοισι] *empturientibus* (68. 6).

ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος] In Attic prose we should prob. have had *ἡ δὲ νῆσος αὐτῶν*, the rule being that in the case of reflexives (*ἐμαυτοῦ* &c.) the genitive immediately fol-

τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρ-
νον. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ 2
θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη.
Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι 3
δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην,
κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παρα-
δεξαμένη παρὰ Ἁρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτό σφι 4
ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ
ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου. πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃσι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον
κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν, πρὶν
ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφῆναι. Στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 5
τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ
οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἠθέων τῆς χώρης· ψευδόρκιοι δὲ
γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν 6
τὸ ὅρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.
166 Ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν 1
πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο.
καὶ, ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρα- 2

lows the article, while in the case of personal pronouns (μοῦ &c.) it either precedes the article, or follows the subst. without any repetition of the article (Krüg.). But several exceptions to this rule are to be found in Hdt. Cf. τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ, II. 107. 1: ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατήρ, II. 133. 2. So too the partitive genitive αὐτῶν is frequently inserted after the article (often also in Attic). Cf. 98. 8; 143. 1. In most of the exceptions, as here, the insertion of the genitive 'is at any rate softened by the addition of a conjunction,' and as regards Hdt. we may compare his fondness for placing 'a sort of possessive dative' between the article and the subst. (I. 4, n.).

Κύρνον] The Greek name for Corsica.

§ 2. **ἀνεστήσαντο**] Either 'had set up a state for themselves,' or (more prob.) 'had turned out the (previous) settlers of a state for themselves' (i. e. in order to settle there themselves). Cf. ἀναστάτους, 155. 3; ἀνίστασαν, IX. 73. 2; ἀναστάσιος, IX. 106. 2. Greek colonies seldom settled on entirely new ground. On either interpretation the use of the middle voice is unusual. But Abicht's conjecture ἀνεκτήσαντο (which would = 'had recovered') is inadmissible.

τηνικαῦτα] i. e. at the time when the Phocaeans deserted Phocaea.

§ 4. **μύδρον σιδήρεον**] Horace does not follow Hdt.'s account very closely:—'sed juremus in haec: simul imis *saxa* renarint *Vadis* levata, ne redire sit nefas,' *Ep*. XVI. 25.

ἀναφῆναι] must be taken transitively: 'till they had found and produced the mass of iron.' Blakesley. Krüg. reads ἀναπεφηνέναι (II. 15. 4), others ἀναφανῆναι.

§ 5. **πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος**] 'A pitiful yearning for.' 'They became homesick,' Grote.

CH. 166. § 2. **ἔφερον**] properly

τεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ
καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἑκάτεροι ἑξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες 3
πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἐόντα ἀριθμὸν ἑξήκοντα,
ἠντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, Καδμείη τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι
ἐγένετο. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νῆες διεφθάρησαν, 4
αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο
γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην 5
ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν,
ὅσην οἷαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νῆές σφι ἄγειν· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀφέντες
167 τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν 1
τοὺς ἄνδρας οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε
αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείους, καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν.

would only apply to things, *ἦγον* to persons: but the two verbs together = *διήρπαζον*. Compare the old Border word 'to lift' (= to plunder), which still survives in the term 'shoplifting.'

κοινῷ λόγῳ] Mommsen, *Hist. Rome* I. 153.

Τυρσηνοὶ] Prob. the inhabitants of Agylla (167. 2), which was exactly opposite the settlement of Alalia. The Carthaginians had colonies in Corsica (VII. 165. 1).

§ 3. **τὸ Σαρδόνιον κ. π.**] That to the south and west of Sardinia: distinct from the Tyrrhenian sea (*Tuscum mare*, Livy V. 33. 6) which lay between the islands and Italy, and from the Libyan sea which included the two Syrtes and the waters along the African coast to the eastward.

τῇ ναυμ.] The engagement implied in *στρατεύονται, ἠντίαζον* above (cf. 80. 6). This cannot be the one mentioned by Thuc. (I. 13. 8), since Massilia was prob. founded about 600 B.C.

Καδμείη] As we talk of *Dutch* courage, *French* leave &c. See L. and S. *Lex*. With *τις* cf. *τινα* 74. 1, n.

§ 4. **αἱ μὲν**] See 18. 2, n.

διεφθάρησαν] Were sunk or waterlogged: for *διαφθείρειν* = *καταδύειν* (Thuc. I. 50. 1; Arnold's note).

ἄχρηστοι] 'Disabled.' Thuc. VII. 34. 5, *τῶν μὲν Κορινθίων τρεῖς νῆες διαφθείρονται, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων κατέδυ μὲν οὐδεμία ἁπλῶς, ἑπτὰ δέ τινες ἄπλοι* (= unseaworthy) *ἐγένοντο*.

ἀπεστράφατο] Bent back, i. e. forced upwards. So of the neck of an animal about to be sacrificed, IV. 188.

§ 5. **ἐγίνοντο**] 'Became able,' after being repaired.

ἀφέντες τὴν Κ.] 'Let C. go,' i.e. gave up their plan of settling in the island. Or very possibly the phrase refers to the fact that land appears to recede, as one sails away from it. If so, the metaphor seems to come from the idea of *casting off* a boat in tow. Somewhat similar are *ἀποκρύψαντα γῆν*, Plat. *Protag*. 338 A; 'abscondimus arces,' Virg. *Aen*. III. 291: both used of ships at sea.

CH. 167. § 1. **ἔλαχόν τε κ.τ.λ.**] The assumption of a *lacuna* (e. g. that *διέλαχον· οἱ δὲ Τυρσηνοὶ* has dropped out after *Τυρσηνοὶ* in the text) is unsatisfactory; but the sentence is obscure. Schw. takes *αὐτῶν* after *πλείους*—'divided more

μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ 2
οἱ Φωκαιέες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ
ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ
ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον, βουλό- 3
μενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε
ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ
ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν
ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαιέων τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διε- 4
χρήσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες, ἐνθεῦ-
τεν ὁρμεώμενοι, ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίης ταύτην,
ἥτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλέεται. ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς 5
Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες, ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε
κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον. Φωκαίης μέν νυν
168 πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτω ἔσχε. Παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι
καὶ Τήϊοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπεί τε γάρ σφεων εἷλε χώματι τὸ
τεῖχος Ἅρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, οἴχοντο

prisoners than the Phocaeans did.' More prob. αὐτῶν is the partitive gen., πολλῷ πλείους being added for the sake of greater accuracy after τοὺς ἄνδρας above (Bähr). On this view πλείους = 'more of them than escaped,' for which we should rather have expected τοὺς πλείους. For ἔλαχον Bähr unnecessarily proposes ἔλαβον. Cf. ἄξομαι ἅσσ' ἔλαχόν γε (of prisoners, as well as booty), Hom. *Il.* IX. 367. Tr. 'as for the crews of the water-logged ships, at least a far greater number of them than escaped, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians each received their share of them by lot, and these they landed on the shore and stoned to death.'

§ 2. **ἀπόπληκτα**] 'Palsied.'

πρόβατα] 133. 2, n.

§ 3. **ἐς Δελφοὺς**] Niebuhr concludes from this that Agylla had not yet become Caere. See *Dict. Geogr. Caere.*

ἐναγίζουσι] sc. ὡς ἥρωσι (II. 44. 6).

σφι] = the dead Phocaeans.

§ 4. **πόλιν**] 'Proleptic, for the site on which they afterwards placed the city: cf. Μέμφιν, II. 99. 3.' Kr. More prob. the meaning is that they seized a town belonging to the Oenotrii (165. 2, n.).

ἥτις] 7. 4, n. 'Probably they were here joined by the Colophonian philosopher and poet Xenophanes, from whom the Eleatic ('Ὑέλη became 'Ἐλέα, *Velia*) school of philosophy took its rise.' Grote.

§ 5. **τὸν Κύρνον**] Cyrnus was a son of Heracles. Stein suggests an allusion to the Cyrnus addressed in the Elegies of Theognis; but these seem not to have been written much before 500 B.C. Müll. *Gr. Lit.* I. 162.

ἔχρησε] i.e. in the θεοπρόπιον mentioned 165. 2.

ἥρων] is pred. Posidonia was the earlier name of Paestum.

κτίσαι] as applied to the hero would = ἱδρῦσαι (172. 3). Cf. ἥρωσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἱδρυμένοις, Lycurgus, 147. 43 (Bekk.).

CH. 168. **οἴχοντο**] 'A portion of them must have remained, since the town appears in after-times (VI.

πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηϊκίης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν
Ἄβδηρα· τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας
οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηΐκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ
Τηΐων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

169 Οὗτοι μέν νυν Ἰώνων μοῦνοι, τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχό- 1
μενοι, ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, πλὴν
Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπικέατο Ἁρπάγῳ, κατάπερ οἱ
ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί, περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ
ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι· ἑσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἁλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ
χώρην ἕκαστοι, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι 2
δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὅρκιον ποιησά-
μενοι, ἡσυχίην ἦγον. Οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδού-
λωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἅρπαγος,
οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες, καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα, σφέας
170 αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλε- 1
γομένων οὐδὲν ἕσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην
Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην·
τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μά-
λιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς
Σαρδώ, καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων. καὶ 2
οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νή-
σων τε ἁπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων,
μένουσι δέ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι

8. 3; Thuc. VIII. 16. 1; 20. 2) still peopled and still Hellenic.' Grote.

οὐκ ἀπώνητο] Homeric: *μοῦνον ἔμ' ἐν μεγάροισι τεκὼν λίπεν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο. Od.* XVI. 120.

τιμὰς] Cf. *ὡς ἥρωϊ τιμὰς δεδώκασι* (of Brasidas), Thuc. V. 11. 1.

CH. 169. § 1. **ἕκαστος]** refers to each individual citizen; *ἕκαστοι* (below), to each individual state.

κατὰ χώρην] Not the same as as *ἐν τῇ χώρῃ*. See 17. 4, n.

§ 2. **ὡς καὶ πρότ.]** 141. 5.

αὐτῷ Κ.] Cyrus is opposed to his subordinates, Mazares and Harpagus.

τὸ δεύτερον] The first time was by Croesus (6. 3; 28).

οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχ.] i. e. the Chians and the Lesbians. The strait between Chios and the main-land is only about four miles broad in the narrowest part. The Samians were independent till the time of Darius (III. 120. 4).

CH. 170. § 1. **παρεῖχε]** See 9. 5, n.

§ 2. **μεγίστην]** It appears that Sardinia is actually 'the largest of the Mediterranean islands, though the difference between it and Sicily is trifling.' Smyth's *Mediterranean*, p. 28.

ἄλλων] i.e. the barbarian islanders.

ἐσομένην. Αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη, ἐπὶ 3
διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη. χρηστὴ δὲ καί, πρὶν ἢ
διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην, Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ
ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἓν βουλευτήριον
Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ· Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι
Ἰωνίης. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἔσσον νομί- 4
ζεσθαι κατάπερ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν. οὕτω μὲν δή σφι γνώμας
τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171 Ἅρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην, ἐποιέετο στρα- 1
τηΐην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος
καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. Εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμέ- 2
νοι ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες
Μίνω τε κατήκοοι, καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες, εἶχον τὰς νήσους,
φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι

§ 3. **ἀνδρὸς Μιλ.**] Yet Thales has already been mentioned twice as ὁ Μιλήσιος (74. 3; 75. 3). Cf. II. 143. 1, n. Clearly the work was never thoroughly revised.

τὸ ἀνέκαθεν] 'By descent.' The grammarians say that Hdt. uses this word of time, while in Attic it has only a local signification (Bähr). But in these and similar passages the meaning is prob. local: = if we start from the top of the pedigree (II. 91. 7, n.).

Φοίνικος] Thales was a descendant of Cadmus, who came from Tyre into Boeotia (II. 49. 7), and whose descendants the Καδμεῖοι emigrated to Miletus (I. 146. 3).

§ 4. **μηδὲν ἔσσον**] With οἰκεομένας,—'though inhabited all the same.' These words mark the difference between this plan and that of Bias, above. Thales proposed merely one central seat of government, not one large πόλις within which every citizen should reside. Compare Thuc.'s account of Attica (II. 15): ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα ἀεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾤκειτο...ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἓν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον ξυνῴκισε πάντας. Hdt. uses the Athenian term δῆμοι as a well-known expression (cf. 59. 8), but we have τῶν δήμων καλουμένων, Thuc. II. 19. 2.

CH. 171. § 1. **Αἰολέας**] Hdt. says nothing about their subjugation. He dwells on the conquest of Ionia, because he regards the Ionic revolt and the assistance sent by the Athenians as the immediate cause of the Persian war (V. 28. 1; 97. 6).

§ 2. **Κᾶρες μὲν**] Answered by οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι, 172. 1.

ἐκ τῶν νήσων] The Cyclades: cf. Thuc. I. 8. 2, 3; 4. 1. 'In Homer both Leleges and Carians appear as auxiliaries of the Trojans (*Il.* X. 428).' *Dict. Geogr.*

ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ] 'As far back as the very furthest period extends to which hearsay can carry me.' καί either goes with ἐγώ (like καὶ ἡμεῖς, II. 127. 2), or else belongs to the whole sentence, and especially to the emphatic word, μακρότατον.

ἀκοῇ] Hdt. does not accept the accounts of Minos as thoroughly historical (cf. III. 122. 3). So Thuc. says of Minos, παλαίτατος ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν (I. 4. 1).

μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλή-
ρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἅτε δὲ δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν 3
πολλήν, καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος
λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἁπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν
χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα. καί σφι τριξὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, 4
τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λό- 5
φους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρές εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς
ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήϊα ποιέεσθαι. καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι 6
οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς
ἀσπίδας πάντες, οἵπερ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρέεσθαι, τελαμῶσι
σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀρι-
στεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι. Μετὰ δέ, τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ 7
ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν
νήσων· καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπίκοντο. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ 8
Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρῆτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε
ὁμολογέουσι τούτοισι οἱ Κᾶρες· ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυ-
τοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἠπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ
αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷπερ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι 9
Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι

οἱ δὲ] 107. 4, n.

ὅκως] 68. 7, n.

§ 3. **κατεστραμμένου**] Used also in a middle sense by Xen. and Dem.

λογιμώτατον] Partly no doubt on account of their piracies (Thuc. I. 5. 1; 8. 3).

ἅμα] Along with Minos.

§ 4. **ἐχρήσαντο**] 'Took into use.' The λόφος was common in Homer's time. Aeschylus describes the seven warriors who attacked Thebes as having devices on their shields (*Sept.* 387). For τριξὰ (instead of τρία), see II. 169. 10, n.

§ 6. **τελαμῶσι**] Homer frequently mentions the τελαμών, but in one passage (*Il.* VIII. 193) he also mentions κανόνες, which seem to have been two rods or cross-pieces inside the shield, beneath one of which the arm was passed, while the other was grasped by the hand. This was prob. the earliest form of the ὄχανον and πόρπαξ.

οἰηκίζοντες] 'steering them from side to side.' So νωμάω (which is also used of steering, e.g. οἴακα νωμῶν, Aesch. *Sept.* 3): οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιά οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νωμῆσαι βῶν (βῶν = shield of bull's hide), Hom. *Il.* VII. 238.

τοῖσι ἀριστ.] Since the shield was always held on the left arm (Thuc. V. 71. 1), this must mean that the belt went *over* the right shoulder, and so *surrounded*, as it were, the left.

περικείμενοι] = περιτεθειμένοι (cf. 14. 3), sc. τὰς ἀσπίδας, like 'laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,' Hor. *Sat.* I. 6. 4.

§ 8. **Κρῆτες**] They would be likely to know, because Minos was king of Crete.

αὐτόχθονας] A favourite national boast: cf. II. 2. 1; VII. 161. 6; VIII. 73. 1.

τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ] i.e. that they had never been called Leleges (§ 2).

μέτεστι, ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί. τὸν γὰρ Λυ- 10
δὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τού-
τοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι· ὅσοι δὲ, ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος, ὁμό-
172 γλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα. Οἱ 1
δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, εἰσί· αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ
Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς
τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ
οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχω- 2
ρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν.
τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα
εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ
παισί. ἱδρυθέντων δέ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφι 3
ἀπέδοξε (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι),
ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδὸν, τύπτοντες δού-
ρασι τὸν ἠέρα, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἵποντο, καὶ
ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρό-
173 ποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται. Οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τὤρ- 1

§ 10. **τούτοισι μὲν**] As if *ὅσοι μὲν κασίγνητοί εἰσι τοῖσι Καρσί* had preceded—*τούτοισι* repeating *Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι* above. See 113. 1, note.

ὅσοι δὲ] e. g. the Caunians (172. 1).

CH. 172. § 1. **δοκέειν ἐμοὶ**] 'In my opinion at least.' Cf. *τὴν πρώτην εἶναι* (153. 6, n.); *ἑκὼν εἶναι*, 'willingly at least,' VII. 104. 3. These phrases seem to be derived from the use of the infinitive to denote limitation (e. g. *καλὸς ὁρᾶν*), and imply a restriction in the action of the main verb owing to a particular mode of treating the matter. More commonly we find *ὡς* before the infinitive (34. 1; 131. 1; II. 8. 4; 125. 5; 135. 2) to denote a subjective point of view (Madv.), i. e. to mark more clearly that the restriction in question is nothing more than an idea existing in the mind of the speaker or writer—is the result of his point of view. Other explanations are (1) that *ὡς* = 'as far as,' (2) that it stands for *ὥστε* (see 199. 8, n., and compare the use of *ὥστε* at II. 10. 2).

§ 2. **τῶν τε ἄλλων**] = *τῶν νόμων τῶν τε ἄλλων*. Cf. *ἐκείνου*, II. 127. 2; *τοῦ πατρός*, 134. 1. 'This form of brachylogy is especially common in the case of words denoting resemblance and difference.' Ab.

τοῖσι γὰρ] = *τούτοισι γάρ*. Cf. II. 124. 6; 148. 3.

κατ' ἡλ. καὶ φιλ.] 'As age and friendship determine:' i. e. *ὁμήλικες* and *φίλοι* would naturally join the same party.

§ 3. **ἱρῶν**] perhaps = 'temples,' *ἱδρύω* being very frequently used in this connection (II. 42. 1; 44. 1; 182. 3). Schw.

ἀπέδοξε] Sc. *μὴ χρᾶσθαι* (152. 4, n.).

ἡβηδὸν] (formed on the analogy of *ἀγεληδόν*, II. 93. 2) = 'the young men by companies,' *ἥβη* denoting all who can bear arms.

οὔρων] Distinguish between *οὔρων*, 'frontiers,' and *οὐρέων*, 'mountains' (110. 2).

χαῖον γεγόνασι. τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν
βάρβαροι. διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης
τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων, Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκρά-
τησε τῇ στάσει Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ
τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης 2
ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ
παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς· οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο.
τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε· οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο, τό περ 3
τε ἠνείκαντο οὔνομα, καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοί-
κων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι. ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Παν- 4
δίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀπί-
κετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ
Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νό- 5
μοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἓν
δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται
ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτούς, καὶ οὐκὶ
ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον, τίς εἴη, 6
καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς

CH. 173. § 1. **γάρ**] The clause with γάρ explains how it was that there was room for the Lycians, as well as for the Caunians and the Leleges.

τὸ παλαιόν] Before the Trojan war. See the account of the successive colonizations of Crete, VII. 171.

βάρβαροι] The Lycian language, 'while undoubtedly Indo-European in type, is utterly unlike the Greek.' Rawlinson.

§ 2. **οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι**] i. e. *οἱ νῦν Μ.*

τότε] = when Lycia was called Μιλυάς (Bähr). Homer speaks of the Solymi in Lycia. *Il.* VI. 184.

§ 3. **τέως μέν**] 'For ἕως,' Kr. Cf. IV. 165. 1, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, τέως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο, ἡ δὲ εἶχε κ.τ.λ., where we should certainly translate 'whilst' (*quamdiu*), whereas at I. 11. 5; 84. 5; 94. 3, we should rather translate 'for a time' (*aliquamdiu*). But the meaning of τέως is really the same in both cases, and the passages exemplify the change from coordinate (paratactic) to subordinate constructions (cf. II. 93. 8, n.), the earlier τέως μὲν—τέως δέ being gradually supplanted by ἕως—τέως. In Homer we have ἕως μὲν—τέως (τόφρα) δέ, and sometimes ἕως μέν without any apodosis expressed.

ἠνείκαντο] = brought with them from Crete (cf. 57. 4).

οἱ Λύκιοι] virtually = now that they have become Lycians. On the obelisk at Xanthus (176. 4, n.) the Lycians in the Lycian part of the inscription are called Tramilae. Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 274.

§ 4. **καὶ οὗτος**] As well as Sarpedon (§ 1).

ἀνὰ χρόνον] 'in course of time,' = Att. χρόνῳ.

§ 6. **εἴη**] As if εἰρομένου were the imperfect participle. Krüg. reads ἐστι.

καταλέξει] 'He will recite his pedigree in the female line:' = γενεη-

μητέρας. καὶ ἢν μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γεν- 7
ναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἢν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος
αὐτῶν, γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα
γίνεται.

174 *Οἱ μέν νυν* Κᾶρες, *οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι,* 1
ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἁρπάγου, *οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ* Κᾶρες *ἀποδε-*
ξάμενοι οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων *ταύτην τὴν χώρην*
οἰκέουσι. οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων *ἄποι-* 2
κοι Κνίδιοι, *τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον,*
τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον *καλέεται. ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου* 3
τῆς Βυβασσίης, *ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς* Κνιδίης, *πλὴν ὀλίγης,*
περιρρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κερα-
μεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην *τε*
καὶ Ῥόδον *θάλασσα)· τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὸν ὅσον τε*
ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὤρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι, *ἐν ὅσῳ* Ἅρπαγος *τὴν*
Ἰωνίην *κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι.*
ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη *χώρη ἐς τὴν* 4
ἤπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμός ἐστι τὸν ὤρυσσον. καὶ 5

λογήσει ἑωυτὸν (II. 143. 1). Compare the use of *καταλέγειν*, VI. 53. 1, 3. The future denotes a regular custom. Cf. *ἅψονται*, 198. 3; *ἀποδοκιμᾷ*, 199. 8; *γεύσεται*, II. 39. 5; *χρήσεται*, 41. 3 (Kr.).

μητρόθεν] of the metronymic: cf. *πατρόθεν οὐνομάζων*, III. 1. 7. 'In the funereal inscriptions copied from the monuments of these (Lycian) cities all the pedigrees of the deceased with one exception are derived from their mothers: the exception is on the tomb of ...... a foreigner.' Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 276.

CH. 174. § 2. **ἄλλοι**] Among them the Halicarnassians.

τὸ] For *ἡ* (sc. *χώρη*), owing to the attraction of Τριόπιον.

δὴ] *δὴ* is inserted because the name has been mentioned before (144. 1). The clauses which follow do not run easily owing to the genitives absolute, but there is no authority for *οἱ*, which Bekker inserts after Κνίδιοι.

§ 3. **ἀργμένης**] agrees with *τῆς* Κνιδίης. The simplest explanation is that Τριόπιον here (= *ἡ* Κνιδίη, = *ἡ σφετέρη χώρη*) is the western half of the long peninsula, which terminates in Cnidus, while the Bybassian Chersonese is the land to the east, being itself also a peninsula between Τριόπιον and the main-land. The attempted canal would thus lie between the two peninsulas. *Dict. Geogr. Bubassus.*

τὸ ὀλίγον τοῦτο] *τοῦτο* refers to *πλὴν ὀλίγης* above.

ὅσον τε ἐπὶ] Homeric: *ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἐρωὴ | γίγνεται*, *Il.* XV. 358. For *ὅσον τε* (= *quantum fere, circiter*), cf. 126. 1.

§ 4. **ἐντὸς δὲ**] 'Thus all their territory came within the isthmus' Or perhaps: 'within the isthmus thus all became their own.' *ἐντός*, from the point of view of a Cnidian (6. 1, n.).

γαρ] gives the reason for *πᾶσα*.

τελευτᾷ ἐς] must = 'ends *at*' (not

δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι
καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ
οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς
ὀφθαλμούς, θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς
θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, 6
ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾷ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε·

Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μηδ' ὀρύσσετε·
Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν, ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης, τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος 7
ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἁρπάγῳ, ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, ἀμαχητὶ
175 σφεας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκοῦντες 1
ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνε-
πιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ ἱερείη
τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγέ-
νετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοί τε ἀντέσχον 2
χρόνον Ἁρπάγῳ, καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα, οὖρος
τειχίσαντες, τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Λίδη. Πηδασέες μέν νυν χρόνῳ 3

'ends towards') just as ἄρχεται ἐκ (§ 3) = 'begins at' (cf. IV. 39. 2, 3). Hence ἤπειρον is here used of what has been called above a peninsula (χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίης).

§ 5. **τῶν Κνιδίων ... ἔπεμπον**] Cf. 3. 3, n.

§ 6. **ὡς αὐτοὶ Κν. λ.**] These words seem to imply a doubt as to the genuineness of the oracle. Certainly the metre is different from that of the other oracles quoted by Hdt. (47. 4, n.).

εἴ κ'] 'Potuit etiam εἴ κεν dici. *Il.* XXIII. 526, *εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω γένετο δρόμος ἀμφοτέροισι | τῷ κέν μιν παρέλασσε.* Recentior usus eo tantum ab epico differt, quod particulam ἄν in secundaria sententia non aliter quam si necessaria est addit.' Herm. *de part.* ἄν, I. 10. By 'necessaria' Hermann means that ἄν is joined to εἰ with the subjunctive, because there is no ἄν in the apodosis, to show that the sentence is conditional: whereas when εἰ takes the optative or the imperf. or aor. indicative, there is no need to join ἄν with it, because the conditional character of the sentence is sufficiently marked by ἄν in the apodosis.

CH. 175. § 1. **ἦσαν δὲ Πηδ... οὗτοι**] The subject of the story is first introduced in an independent clause, and then the story itself is told :—a common Epic formula. Cf. *ἔστι τις ... ἔνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην*, 67. 4.

ἴσχει] = φορέει (III. 12. 5), or φύει (VIII. 104. 2). Hom. *Il.* XVIII. 595, *τῶν δ' αἱ μὲν λεπτὰς ὀθόνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ χιτῶνας | εἵατ' ἐϋννήτους.*

τρίς] The same story is told, VIII. 104. 2, almost in the same words. But there the occurrence is said to have happened only twice (δὶς ἤδη). This implies either an interpolation or a want of revision (170. 3, n.). If the latter is the explanation it would seem that the passage in Bk. VIII. was written before this one. The asyndeton adds emphasis.

176 ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ 1
Ἅρπαγος τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι, ὀλίγοι
πρὸς πολλοὺς, ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο· ἑσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ
κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τάς
τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας·
καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι.
ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινοὺς, ὑπεξ- 2
ελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν 3
Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα
ἱστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον
τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι, καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ 4
Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἅρπαγος. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν
Καῦνον ἔσχε. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο
τὰ πλέω.

177 Τὰ μέν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἅρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, 1
τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος

CH. 176. § 1. **τὸ Ξάνθιον π.**] i. e. the plain watered by the river Xanthus, on which the town of the same name (the chief town of the Lycians) was situated.

ὑπεξιόντες] 'Coming forth suddenly.' Generally *ὑπεξ-* denotes giving ground, withdrawing (73. 2; 156. 1; IV. 120. 1). But *ὑπ-*, 'secretly,' might fairly denote a sudden *sortie*. Bekker reads *ἐπεξιόντες*, and *ἐπεξελθόντες*, § 2.

ἀρετὰς] 'brave deeds.'

καίεσθαι] Added epexegetically, to express the result or purpose (32. 1). Xanthus made an equally desperate resistance to the Romans under Brutus during the civil war, B. C. 42.

§ 3. **τῶν δὲ νῦν Λ.**] Either 'of the present dwellers in Lycia, although they assert that they are (real) Xanthians,' i. e. are descended from the former Xanthians: or (more prob.) *Λυκίων* is pred., and occupies its regular place between the article and participle: 'of the Xanthians who at the present day claim to be Lycians.' The position of *εἶναι* makes the sentence rather involved, but not more so than (e.g.) at 60. 6; 66. 1.

ἐπήλυδες] Prob. Greeks. (Fellows).

ἐκδημέουσαι] It is still a Lycian custom to leave the low lands (*πεδίον*, above) during the summer, and go to live in the cooler and more healthy hill-country.

§ 4. **ὁ Ἅρπαγος**] In the inscription on the obelisk (a cast of which is now in the British Museum) discovered at Xanthus by Fellows (*Lycia*, p. 492) mention is made of a son of Harpagus in both the Greek and Lycian character. This would seem to imply that the government of Lycia remained in the family of Harpagus for several generations. The date of the inscription is variously put at B. C. 466 (Rawlinson) and 376 (Bähr). A Harpagus (a *Persian*) is mentioned as one of the generals of Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 494) in Mysia, VI. 28. 4.

CH. 177. § 1. **ἀνάστατα ἐπ.**] This strictly only applies to those towns which offered resistance.

καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μέν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ 2
δέ οἱ παρέσχε πόνον τε πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι,
τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

178 *Κῦρος ἐπεί τε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἠπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιή-* 1
σατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης ἐστὶ τὰ 2
μέν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ οὐνο-
μαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, καὶ ἔνθα σφι, Νίνου ἀναστά-
του γενομένης, τὰ βασιλήϊα κατεστήκεε, ἦν Βαβυλών, ἐοῦσα
τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος 3
ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης
τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται
συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μέν νυν μέ- 4
γαθος τοσοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. ἐκεκόσ-
μητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος 5

§ 2. **τὰ μέν νυν...παρήσομεν**] i.e. the Bactrians and the Sacae (153. 7).

ἀξιαπηγητότατα] On account of their *ἔργα θωυμαστά* (see note at the beginning of the book).

CH. 178. § 2. **τὰ μέν**] is answered by *τὸ δέ*, but *τά* becomes pleonastic, owing to the insertion of *καὶ ἄλλα* (cf. 92. 2).

σφι] = *τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι*. Hdt. regards the Babylonians and the Ninevites as forming one nation, and evidently has no idea of the former having joined Cyaxares in the siege of Nineveh (106. 3, n.). His *Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι* were intended to include the history of both (184. 1).

ἦν Βαβυλών] The past tense implies an extremely altered condition, acc. to Blakesley, who compares *ἐκεκόσμητο* (§ 4); *τετείχιστο* (180. 1); *ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν*, Thuc. I. 10. 1. This argument may perhaps be rebutted by appealing to the presents, *γίνονται* (§ 3), *περιθέει* (§ 5: 181. 1), etc. See however 179. 5, n. On the general question of the credibility of Hdt. as regards his account of Babylon, see Grote *H. G.* II. 472 (III. 395), n.

τοιαύτη] For *τοίηδε* (101, n.). Schw. reads *τ. δή τις. πόλις κ.τ.λ.*

§ 3. **ἐούσης**] A strong instance of the irregular use of the gen. abs. (3. 3; II. 134. 1). 'The sentence would be clearer if we had *τῆς μέτωπον ἕκαστον μέγαθός ἐστι εἴκ. καὶ ἑκ. σταδίων*, and we find this construction before *ἐούσης τετρ.*, II. 124. 8.' St. The actual length of wall on the north and south sides would prob. be less, since the breadth of the river (180. 1) would have to be deducted.

οὗτοι] 'These make altogether 480 furlongs of circuit for the city.' *περιόδου* is the gen. of the thing measured (Kr. compares *τέτταρες παρασάγγαι τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Xen. *An.* I. 10. 1), and *πόλιος* is the possessive gen. 480 stadia = about 55 English miles. Hence Aristotle refuses the name of *πόλις* to Babylon,—*ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως*, *Pol.* III. 3. 5. Marco Polo describes the palace of the Chinese emperor as 'a square enclosed with a wall and deep ditch, each side of the square being eight miles in length;' and close by was a square-shaped city, each side of which was 'neither more nor less than six miles.' He does not say what was the height of the walls. The palace-enclosure contained a large park and camping-ground (*Travels*, p. 176).

μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέη ὕδατος περιθέει·
μετὰ δὲ, τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιληΐων ἐὸν τὸ
εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων. ὁ δὲ βασιλήϊος πῆχυς 6
179 τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι. Δεῖ δή 1
με πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπιφράσαι, ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ
ἀναισιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὅντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσ- 2
σοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθευον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην· ἑλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς,
ὤπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι. μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι 3
ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ, καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς
καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου
τὰ χείλεα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.
ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα 4
ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων

§ 5. **περιθέει**] Hom. *Il.* VI. 320, *περὶ δὲ χρύσεος θέε πόρκης.* Cf. *πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε*, 181. 3.

διηκοσ. π. β.] Prob. about 340 English feet. This is certainly the most incredible fact which Hdt. mentions about Babylon. But 'with thirty pyramids in Egypt and the wall of China still existing, who can set bounds to what might be accomplished?'

§ 6. **τοῦ μετρίου**] 'The medium,' (II. 32. 8), i.e. the common Greek cubit (60. 5). The royal cubit was so called because it was in use in Persia. It is uncertain whether to *δακτύλοισι* is to be supplied *μετρίοισι* or *βασιληΐοισι* (i. e. whether the ratio of the two cubits is that of 24 : 27, or 21 : 24). The analogy of 192. 3 is in favour of the former view (St.), but Böckh pronounces for the latter. Cf. II. 168. 2, n.

CH. 179. § 1. **ἵνα**] = *ὅκοι* or *ἐς τί*. Cf. II. 150. 3; III. 6. 2.

§ 2. **ὀρύσσ. ἅμα**] 'As fast as they dug.'

ὤπτησαν] Kiln-baked bricks (*πλ. ὀπταί, lateres cocti*) are to be distinguished from bricks merely dried in the sun (*πλ. ὠμαί, lateres crudi*). Hence Ovid has the sanction of Hdt. for his '*coctilibus* muris,' *Met.* IV. 28.

§ 3. **τέλματι**] 'As mortar.'

διὰ τρ. δόμων] 'Every thirtieth course' (II. 127. 4, n).

πλίνθου] The collective singular. Cf. *ἵππος, κάμηλος*, 80. 2. 3; *κέραμος*, III. 6. 1; *ἐσθής*, IV. 203. 6; *ἄμπελος*, Thuc. IV. 90. 2. Layers of reeds are found in the remains of buildings in Babylonia. They were prob. inserted in order to collect and carry off the moisture (St.).

§ 4. **παρὰ τὰ ἔσχ. κ.τ.λ.**] Being built along each edge of the wall, the chambers opened on to the central passage, so that their fronts faced each other.

μουνόκωλα] This is gen. translated 'one-storied,' but *κῶλον* in Hdt. always = the side or façade of a building, and here prob. the meaning is 'with but a single face.' Each *οἴκημα* would have its sides hidden by its neighbours, and the back would be inaccessible and almost invisible owing to its being at the top of the enormous wall. The *προμαχεῶνες* and *πύργοι*, mentioned III. 151. 2; 156. 1, must have risen above these *οἰκήματα*. Compare Thuc. III. 21. 2—4.

ἔλιπον τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ 5
τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατὸν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοί τε καὶ
ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ 6
ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἶς οὔνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ
ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἶς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὔνομα· ἐσβάλλει
δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὦν 7
ὁ Ἶς ποταμὸς, ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ
πολλούς· ἔνθεν ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος
180 ἐκομίσθη. Τετείχιστο μέν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. 1
ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεα τῆς πόλιος· τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποτα-
μὸς διέργει, τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Εὐφρήτης. ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμε- 2
νίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν
Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὦν δὴ τεῖχος ἑκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶ- 3
νας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, αἱ ἐπι-
καμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, αἱμασιὴ πλίν-
θων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτὸ, ἐὸν πλῆρες 4

περιέλασιν] 'Room to drive round the walls.' St. compares *ἀνάβασις*, 181. 4; *καταβάσιας*, 186. 5; *διάβασιν*, 205. 3. Aristoph. has parodied this passage: *Av.* 1126. The walls of 'Cloudcuckootown' were so wide that two chariots could pass drawn by steeds as big as the Trojan horse.

§ 5. **ἐνεστᾶσι**] The present can hardly be accurate here, since Darius *τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀνέσπασε*, III. 159. 1. Hence it is doubtful how far the force of the present can be pressed in other cases.

πᾶσαι] = 'entirely' (ch. 52), not 'all.'

ὡσαύτως] i. e. of brass. Of this enormous outer wall 'it is agreed by almost all travellers that not a vestige remains.' Rawlinson.

§ 6. **Ἶς**] The modern *Hit* or *Ait*. 'There are still bituminous springs.' *Dict. Geogr.*

§ 7. **ἀναδιδοῖ**] 'Throws up:' so *πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα* (of a volcano), Thuc. III. 18. 4. Cf. *διδοῖ*, 107. 4, n.

CH. 180. § 1. **τὸ γὰρ μέσον**] Acc. to Hdt. the palace and the temple of Belus were on opposite sides of the river (181. 2). But the ruins seem to be almost entirely on the east side, with the exception of two large mounds, one to the N.W., the other (*Birs-i-Nimrúd*) eight miles to the S.W.

§ 2. **ἐξίει**] Cf. 6. 1.

τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θ.] Here the Persian Gulf (1. 2).

§ 3. **τὸ ὦν δὴ τεῖχος**] 'Now the wall on either side has its arms bent and so is carried down to the river.' *τεῖχος ἑκάτερον* is the city-wall on the east and west sides. Those parts of it which come down to the river are called 'elbows' (*ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος βῆ τείχεος*, Hom. *Il.* XVI. 702), because they stood at right-angles to the two unbroken sides of the square, which ran parallel with the river.

τοὺς ἀγκ....ἐλήλαται] = *τοὺς ἀγκ. ἐληλαμένους ἔχει.*

τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τ.] 'From this point the walls make a return which extends along the brink of the river on either side, forming a dike of baked brick.' *ἀπὸ τούτου* = inwards, towards the city, from the point where the wall reaches the river. *τὸ ἀπὸ τ.*

οἰκιέων τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέτμηται τὰς
ὁδοὺς ἰθείας, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν
ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὦν ἑκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἱμασιῇ 5
τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι,
τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι, φέρουσαι
181 καὶ αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος 1
θώρηξ ἐστί· ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ
τέῳ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. Ἐν 2
δὲ φάρσεϊ ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος τετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ, ἐν τῷ τὰ
βασιλήϊα μὲν περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ
ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι
ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὸν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ 3

is adverbial (the accus. of reference), and *ἐπικαμπαί* is the subject of the verb, which however takes the construction of the nearer predicate, *αἱμασιή* ('extend along as a dike'). See 163. 4, n., and cf. *τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες τοῖς φύλαξιν οἰκήματα διανενεμημένα ᾠκοδόμητο*, Thuc. III. 21. 3, where the construction is exactly parallel.

§ 4. **τριωρόφων**] 'Three stories high,' three roofs or ceilings implying three floors.

ἰθείας] The addition of a predicate in agreement with the accus. in this construction is unusual. We should have expected 'an adverbial expression (e.g. *κατ' ἰθέαν*, in straight lines), like *οὔρεα ἐς ὀξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα*, II. 28. 2' (St.). Marco Polo describes the streets in the great Chinese city as 'so straight that when a person ascends the wall over one of the gates he can see the gate opposite to him on the other side of the city.' *Travels*, p. 183.

τάς τε ἄλλας] Those parallel to the river.

ἐχούσας] = *φερούσας* (II. 121. 5, n.).

§ 5. **καὶ αὗται**] As well as the main gates (179. 5). *καὶ αὗται*, as well as the *λαῦραι* (*ἐπικάρσιαι ὁδοί*).

ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν π.] 'Leading right down to the river' (by flights of steps: 186. 5).

CH. 181. § 1. **τοῦτο τὸ τ.**] The *αἱμασιή* on each side of the river is called a cuirass, 'breast-work,' because it guarded the most vital part (cf. 191. 8). Within this came the inner wall (*περίβολος*) in each quarter, like a *κιθών* worn under the *θώρηξ*. Cf. *τειχέων κιθῶνες*, 'covering walls,' VII. 139. 3.

στεινότερον] This is usually rendered 'of smaller circuit.' But it clearly = 'of less thickness.' The top of the city wall being used for traffic (179. 4), the same epithet is applied to a smaller wall which would be applied to a smaller road. So *στεινοτέρη ἐσβολή* (of Thermopylae), VII. 175. 2; *στεῖνος ὁδοῦ κοίλης*, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 419.

§ 2. **ἐν τῷ...μὲν**] *μέν* is a correction for *ἦεν* (one MS. *εἶεν*), a form of the imperf. which nowhere else occurs in Hdt., though the MSS. read *ἦε* at 196. 5, and *ἦεν* occurs several times in Hom. (e.g. *Il.* III. 41).

Διὸς Βήλου] Hdt. identifies the Babylonian *Bel* (like the Libyan *Ammon*, II. 55. 4) with Zeus. See II. 50. 1, n.

ἱρὸν] This denotes the whole of the sacred precinct (183. 1).

ἐς ἐμὲ] i.e. down to the time of Hdt.'s visit (cf. 183. 5).

τετράγωνον] Unnecessary after *πάντη* (II. 138. 3).

ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ
τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε,
καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνά- 4
βασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους
ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἔστι 5
καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες
ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ 6
νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ
ἐστρωμένη, καί οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα 7
δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυ-
λίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν
ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἕληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἐόντες
182 *ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ* 1
πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν, καὶ
ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατάπερ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰ-
γυπτίῃσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι·
καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος
γυνή· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμι- 2
λίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρό-
μαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστή-

§ 3. **ἐπιβέβηκε**] 'Stands upon' ('stands firmly on,' Ab., who compares *ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν*, Xen. *An.* III. 2. 19). Cf. *παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος*, 'stands near him,' VII. 40. 6 (St.); *πυρῆς ἐπιβάντ' ἀλεγεινῆς* (of a corpse) Hom. *Il.* IV. 99.

μάλα] 134. 5, n.

μέχρι οὗ ὀ. πύργων] Acc. to Herm. (*ad Viger.* 251) this is a mixture of the two constructions, *μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργοι εἰσί*, and *μέχρι ὀκτὼ πύργων*. Klotz however (*Devarius*, 230) thinks that the full phrase is *μέχρι τούτου, ὃ ὀκτὼ πύργων (ἐστί)*, *usque ad id quod* (*ad eum numerum qui*) *octo turrium sit*, 'up to the number of (belonging to) eight towers.' Cf. II. 173. 1.

§ 4. **ἀνάβασις**] 'Stairs to go up by.'

ἔξωθεν] The *πύργος* was *στερεός*.

ἔχουσα] With *κύκλῳ περί*, 'running round' (180. 4).

§ 5. **μεσοῦντι**] Cf. 51. 1.

§ 6. **οἱ**] = *τῇ κλίνῃ*. The absence of any *ἄγαλμα* renders this religious observance different from the Roman *lectisternium*.

§ 7. **οἱ Χαλδαῖοι**] See Grote *H. G.* II. 467 (III. 388).

CH. 182, § 1. **κατάπερ...κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον**] The relative precedes the demonstrative. Cf. *τά περ—ἕτερα τοιαῦτα*, 191. 4; *κατάπερ—καὶ δὴ καί*, II. 146. 2; *ἐς οὗ—μέχρι τούτου*, III. 31. 3.

ἐκεῖθι] The local suffix is more frequent in Hdt. than in Attic prose. Cf. *μητρόθεν*, 173. 6; *ὀλιγαχόθεν*, III. 96. 1; *ἀρχῆθεν*, VII. 104. 1.

Διὸς τοῦ Θηβ.] Cf. II. 41. 1.

γυνή] II. 54. 2, n.

§ 2. **τοῦ θεοῦ**] Apollo. He was supposed to live at Patara during

ριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ὦν συγκατακληΐεται τὰς
183 νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱροῦ καὶ 1
ἄλλος κάτω νηός· ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἔνι κατήμενον
χρύσεον, καί οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέη, καὶ τὸ
βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεός ἐστι· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλ-
δαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἔξω
δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς 2
μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ 3
χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῦνα.
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια 4
τάλαντα ἔτεος ἑκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε, ἐπεὰν τὴν ὁρτὴν
ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν 5
χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριὰς δυώδεκα πηχέων, χρύσεος, στε-
ρεός. ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον· τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων,
ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος 6
ἐπιβουλεύσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου
ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε, ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν
ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμητο. ἔστι δὲ 7
καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

the winter months only. 'Qualis ubi *hibernam* Lyciam Xanthique fluenta Deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo.' Virg. *Aen.* IV. 143. So 'Delius *et* Patareus Apollo,' Hor. *Od.* III. 4. 64. The subject of γένηται may be (1) ὁ θεός, 'when he has come there,' like ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλίκων τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, VII. 77. 1: (2) χρηστήριον, anticipated from the following clause (Kr.): (3) ἡ πρόμαντις (Bähr), 'when she has become priestess (again)'. The last seems best.

ἐπεὰν δὲ γέν.] δέ resumes. Cf. 164. 4.

CH. 183. § 1. **ἔστι τοῦ**] 'Belongs to.'

τὸ βάθρον] The footstool or step in front of the θρόνος.

ταλάντων] Prob. the genitive of material, not that of price: 'made out of.'

§ 2. **τέλεα**] Opposed to γαλαθηνά, below.

προβάτων] 133. 2, n.

§ 5. **τὸν χρ. ἐκεῖνον**] This would naturally mean 'in the time of Cyrus,' the period which the narration has reached. But in this case ἔτι is rather pointless, since the statue remained till the reign of Xerxes, i.e. long afterwards. Perhaps the phrase simply means 'that great time,' i.e. the time of the Persian war. 'Through the whole of Hdt.'s work the wars for Greek freedom are the great crisis on which his eyes are fastened.' Kr.

ἀνδριάς] is seldom used of the statue of a god (31. 9, n.).

ἐγὼ μέν μιν] It must have been removed before Hdt.'s visit to Babylon, since Xerxes died B.C. 465.

§ 6. **ἐπιβουλεύσας**] The Persians would naturally be hostile to the religion of the Chaldaeans (Bähr). In the account of the seven conspirators Darius is represented as extremely impetuous in character (III. 71—2).

κινέειν] 187. 3, n.

184 Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι 1
ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην
ποιήσομαι, οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ
δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον 2
γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις·
αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα.
πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.
185 Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασίλεια, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν 1
Νίτωκρις (αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης), τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ

CH. 184. § 1. **πολλοὶ**] Even while subject to Nineveh, Babylon prob. had a separate dynasty of its own. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. But the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι would have described the Ninevite dynasties as well, and these may be included under the πολλοὶ βασιλέες, since Hdt. does not distinguish between the two nations (178. 1, n.). 'Prob. his history of the Assyrian dynasties was as obscure and distorted as that which he gives of the Egyptian dynasties before Psammetichus in Bk. II.' St.

Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγ.] Cf. 75. 1: 106. 3; II. 38. 3; 161. 3. If Hdt. ever composed these λόγοι, they have not been incorporated into his work. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* VIII. 18) refers to a work περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου, which acc. to one reading of the passage was written by Hdt. The majority of the MSS. read Ἡσίοδος instead of Ἡρόδοτος. Still there are good reasons for thinking that the latter reading is the true one.

ἐπεκόσμησαν] 'Further beautified.'

§ 2. **ἡ μὲν...αὕτη μὲν**] Answered by ἡ δὲ...αὕτη δέ, next ch. See 113. 2; VII. 39. 3.

γενεῇσι πέντε] i.e. there were four intervening reigns (13. 4, n.). This would place Semiramis somewhere about the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747). Inscriptions recently discovered mention about this time a queen of *Nineveh* called *Sammuramit*, whose husband 'seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia.' See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VII. 19. Hdt. prob. imagines her to be the mythical Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

CH. 185. § 1. **δεύτερον**] Used for ὕστερον (91. 3, n.) owing to δύο above. Nitocris is mentioned by no other authority, and 'no trace of her appears in the inscriptions.' The Egyptian name (II. 100. 3) may possibly be explained by supposing her to be 'an Egyptian captive.' Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. 21. Hdt. regards her as the mother of one Labynetus and the wife of another (188. 1, n.).

συνετωτέρη] An allusion to the masculine character and profligacy of the mythical Semiramis (St.).

ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε] ἀλλ' was inserted by Bekker: cf. 190. 3.

αὐτοῖσι] = ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τῶν Μήδων. The motive assigned by Hdt. cannot have been the true one, since the Medes were on friendly terms with the Babylonians (102. 4, n.) Prob. the real object was the improvement of the navigation, and the regulation

καὶ τὴν Νῖνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. Πρῶτα 2
μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὅς σφι
διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα
οὕτω δή τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν, ὥστε δὴ τρὶς ἐς τῶν τινὰ κω-
μέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων. τῇ δὲ κώμῃ 3
οὔνομά ἐστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα.
καὶ νῦν οἳ ἂν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυ-
λῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, τρίς τε ἐς
την αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι.
τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε. Χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' 4
ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ἄξιον θώυματος, μέγαθος
καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τί ἐστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος 5
ὤρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνῃ, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ
περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων στα-
δίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος
ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεί 6
τε δέ οἱ ὤρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη, κρηπῖδα κύκλῳ περὶ
αὐτὴν ἤλασε. Ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τόν τε ποταμὸν 7

of the floods. The windings would render the stream less rapid (ταχύς, 180. 2; βραδύτερος, 185. 7).

§ 2. **σφι**] Prob. the plur. Cf. VIII. 133. 1, where σφι prob. = the Persians, though Mardonius alone has been mentioned. Buttm. (*Lexil.* νῶε) concludes from the analogy of ἐμίν, that only σφιν (not σφι) was used in the singular.

οὕτω δή τι] 'So exceedingly.'

§ 3. **τῆσδε τῆς θ.**] See I. 2, n.

ἐς τὸν Εὐφρ.] Since the journey was performed by land till the Euphrates was reached (V. 52. 5), καταπλέοντες (if ἐς is right) must be used in a pregnant sense, κατα- referring to the descent from the mountains to the river-basin: *quando ad Euphratem devenerint eoque Babylonem vehuntur*, Bähr.

§ 4. **ὅσον τί ἐστι**] 'Worthy to be marvelled at, how great it is (i.e. that it is so great) in bulk and height.' Cf. οἵων, 31. 6, n.; ὅσων, II. 171. 1; θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ, III. 113. 1. τι is added on the analogy of τοσοῦτό τι (192. 5), ὅσον being equivalent to ὅτι τοσοῦτο.

§ 5. **ἔλυτρον λίμνῃ**] 'A basin for a lake,' i.e. a lake-basin. ἔλυτρον, lit. that which wraps up (ἐλύω), encloses (the water). Below, § 7, this reservoir is called a marsh (ἕλος), because there would naturally be but little water in it except when it drained the river (186. 7).

ὀλίγον τι] refers to the space between the lake and the river.

ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ] 'Till she reached water,' i.e. till the bottom of the reservoir was level with the river-bed, when water from the river would begin to filter through.

αἰεὶ] *Singulis locis.* St.

χοῦν] ὄρυγμα denotes the hole dug, χοῦς the earth dug out (II. 150. 2).

σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἕλος, ὡς ὅ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτε-
ρος εἴη, περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι
σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκηται περί-
οδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χώρης 8
τῇ αἵ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ,
ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγ-
186 ματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ 1
ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. Τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο 2
φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον
βασιλέων, ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοὔτε-
ρον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν. καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, 3
ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπεί τε γὰρ

§ 7. **τὸ ὄρ. πᾶν ἕλος**] 'Turned the whole place which she had dug into a marsh.'

εἴη...ἔωσι] The usual explanations are (1) that the subjunctive denotes a certain, the optative only a probable (or possible) result: (2) that the subj. represents the realization of the proposed end, while the opt. represents it merely as a supposition in the mind (II. 93. 7, n.): (3) that the subj. expresses a direct, the opt. merely an indirect or ulterior consequence. No single one of these explanations will suit all passages, and it is often difficult to see any difference of meaning.

ἔκ τε τῶν πλ.] 'And that after the voyage was over, men might find awaiting them a long journey by land round the lake.'

ἐκδέκηται] Sc. *τοὺς πλέοντας*. Hdt. supposes that in case of invasion the plan would be to make the river unnavigable by drawing the water off. But this was not actually done to stop Cyrus (190. 2, n.), and moreover the invaders might still have followed the river-bank. Ordinarily the stream was navigable down to Babylon (194. 6).

§ 8. **τῆς ἐκ Μ. ὁδοῦ**] No part of the course of the Euphrates above Babylon would have been on the direct road to Media, which lay to the north-east across the Tigris, while the Euphrates flowed from Armenia (180. 2), i.e. from the north-west. 'The mistake appears to have arisen from a confusion of B. with Nineveh.' St.

CH. 186. § 1. **ἐκ βάθεος**] Ab. renders: 'out of the materials obtained from the excavation,' in which case *ταῦτα* can only refer to the river-embankment (185. 5). But possibly the phrase is an adverbial one (like *ἐξ ἴσου*): = 'below ground,' as opposed to the quays and bridge described in what follows.

ταῦτα...περιεβάλετο] 'Girt (the city) round with these defences' (163. 3).

ἐξ αὐτῶν] Not 'after they were finished' (a use of *ἐξ*, which requires a verb either expressing or implying motion), but 'in consequence of them,' 'by means of them:' = *ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου*, below. The *λίμνη* described above made it possible to add the supplementary works.

§ 2. **ἐούσης**] Acc. to Krüg., if this reading is right (*ἐόντων* has been conjectured), the meaning must be *ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φάρσεα*. But *ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φαρσέων* would be good Greek, the gen. being descriptive. See II. 138. 3, n.

μέσον] The article is omitted owing to the commonness of the phrase (111. 2, n.).

§ 3. **προεῖδε**] *προ-* refers to the

ὤρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας· ὡς 4
δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἑτοῖμοι, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὤρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ 5
ἀρχαίου ῥεέθρου, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῇσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι, τοὺς ὠρύξατο, οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολίβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ 6
ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαίρεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν 7
λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθέν, ἕλος γενόμενον, ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι
187 γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασίλεια καὶ 1
ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο. Ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἑωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων. ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς 2

future inconvenience which would arise, unless some remedy were devised.

§ 4. **τὸ ῥέεθρον**] The stream: but below, *τοῦ ῥ.* = the river-bed.

ὤρυσσε] 'which she was digging' (as described above): the descriptive imperf. instead of the pluperf. (81. 2, n.).

§ 5. **καταβάσιας**] 'Steps to go down by' (179. 4, n.).

πυλίδων] See 180. 5.

§ 6. **ξύλα τετρ.**] 'Square planking,'—apparently a sort of drawbridge, which was raised at night.

§ 7. **ἕλος γενόμενον**] Stein reads *γινόμενον*, 'that was afterwards to become a marsh,' comparing *ἐγίνετο*, 187. 5. But *γενόμενον* is simpler: 'the basin after it had become a marsh (i.e. after the water which made it a *λίμνη* had been drawn off, and the channel closed) was seen to have answered its object well.'

CH. 187. § 1. **ἐπιπολῆς**] simply = 'above,' not 'resting upon' (II. 96. 3). The tomb was in the upper part of the gateway, which in the East was often a building of considerable importance, being used for the transaction of public business.

πυλέων] The plural of a single gateway, because each gate had two valves. Cf. 205. 3, n. *αὐτέων* = *just* above the gates.

τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΥ
ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙ-
ΛΕΩΝ, ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗι ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ
ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ, ΛΑΒΕΤΩ ʽΟΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗ-
ΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ, ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ,
ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗι. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. Οὗτος 3
ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος, μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασι-
ληΐη. Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύ- 4
τῃσι μηδὲν χρέεσθαι· καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων, καὶ αὐτῶν
τῶν χρημάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῇσι δὲ 5
πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς
οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον 6
εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὔ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα
τάδε· ΕΙ ΜΗ ΑΠΛΗΣΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΕΑΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΗΣ, ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΘΗΚΑΣ
ΑΝΕΩιΓΕΣ. Αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται
γενέσθαι.

188 ʽΟ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα 1
ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοὔνομα
Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ 2

§ 2. **γράμματα**] 'Intellige de literis cuneatis,' Bähr.

μὴ σπανίσας γε] = ἢν γε μὴ σπανίσῃ. The former γε belongs to ἀνοίξῃ.

ἄλλως] 'for any other reason,' *temere.*

οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον] 'It is not better' = it is better not. οὐ, as in οὐ κελεύω, οὐκ ἐῶ. There seems to be an allusion to Hes. *Op.* 750, μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.

§ 3. **ἀκίνητος**] i.e. was regarded as something sacred, κινέω being used of sacrilege. Cf. κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων, VI. 134. 4.

περιῆλθε] See 7. 1, n.

§ 4. **καὶ δεινὸν**] δεινὸν ἐδόκεε... καὶ μηδὲν χρέεσθαι...καὶ μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν. μὴ οὐ is used because δεινὸν εἶναι implies a negative notion. Acc. to Hermann *per* μή *certo, per* μὴ οὐ *dubitantius negatur.* 'But in many places the meaning is rather that of wondering or indignant repudiation of the opposite notion.' Madv. *G. S. App.* 295. Tr. 'it seemed monstrous, when treasure was there, actually asking to be taken, not to take it.'

§ 5. **ἐγίνετο**] *Futurus erat.* 'By a rhetorical expression the imperf. without ἄν is used to denote what would be (or have been) an immediate or easily-foreseen consequence of anything,—the consequence being described as already in the act of taking place.' *Madv.* So the aor. διέβησαν, 75. 6. Hermann calls this 'the rhetorical omission of ἄν.'

§ 6. **ἔας**] So ἔα, II. 19. 3. Other forms of the imperf. used by Hdt. are ἔσκε, 196. 3; ἦε, 196. 5. Doubtful forms are ἤεν, 181. 2, n.; ἔην, VII. 143. 1.

CH. 188. § 1. **Λαβυνήτου**] In

βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ
προβάτοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ
ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασι-
λεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω 3
τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι
ἡμιόνειαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἕπονται, ὅπη
189 ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἑκάστοτε. Ἐπεί τε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ 1
τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ
ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὔρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς
ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγριν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὦπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν
Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ· τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν
ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος, ἐόντα νηυσιπερητὸν, ἐνθαῦτά
οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν
ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο. ὁ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑπο-
βρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ πο- 2

apposition with **πατρός**. Labynetus I. must have been king (he is prob. meant at 74. 5), since Nitocris was queen. Labynetus II. (cf. 77. 3) is clearly to be identified with the *Nabu-nahit* (='Nebo blesses') of the inscriptions. But there is great uncertainty about Nitocris and her husband. *Nebuchadnezzar* (died B.C. 561) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who was murdered and succeeded by his brother-in-law *Neriglissar* (559—556), whose son was put to death by conspirators, one of whom (*Nabunahit*) was elected king (555). Nitocris on one theory was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, on another of Evil-merodach: but Hdt.'s account cannot be harmonized with other authorities. The river-fortifications attributed by him to Nitocris were the work of Nabunahit. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. 21.

§ 2. **Στρατεύεται δὲ**] Hdt. applies to Cyrus the customs of the Persian kings of his own day.

ὁ μέγας] The Behistun inscription (125. 5, n.) begins: 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings.' So our ancestors talked of 'the grand Turk,' 'the grand Seignior.'

ἐσκευασμένος] Prob. right, instead of ἐσκευασμένοισι, which however might = 'dressed' (73. 5).

§ 3. **ἀπεψημένου**] 'This shews that the water did not serve for drinking,' Stein:—who thinks that it was used for religious rites, comparing σπένδων (of Xerxes, before crossing the Hellespont), VII. 54. 2. The water of the Choaspes is said to have been remarkably pure, so that it would not have been necessary to boil it, in order to render it fit for drinking.

CH. 189. § 1. **Γύνδῃ**] See *Dict. Geogr.* Cyrus was marching to Babylon from Ecbatana (153. 6). The Matieni mentioned here are quite distinct from those in Asia Minor (72. 2).

ὁ δὲ] i. e. the Tigris.

ἱρῶν ἵππων] They drew the sacred chariot and the chariot of the king (VII. 40. 4—6).

συμψήσας] Swept him off, 'obliterating all trace of him as one rubs out footmarks in sand (Ar. *Nub.* 975).' St.

οἰχώκεε] The pluperf. as at 79. 2.

ταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καί οἱ ἐπηπείλησε, οὕτω δή
μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν
εὐπετέως, τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας, διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν 3
ἀπειλὴν μετεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν, διαίρεε τὴν
στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας
διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος
τετραμμένας τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον. διατάξας δὲ τὸν 4
στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζο-
μένου, ἤνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν
190 αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην 1
ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος, ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντά μιν
διώρυχας διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω
δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρα- 2
τευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ
τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ ἑσσωθέντες τῇ 3
μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι
πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὁρέοντες αὐτὸν
παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων
κάρτα πολλῶν. Ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολι- 4
ορκίης οὐδένα· Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε
ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ, ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προ-

§ 3. **σχοινοτενέας δ.**] must be taken with both verb and part. With the former σχ. has a literal, with the latter a figurative sense. 'He laid out trenches by stretching a rope along, marking them out as straight as a line.'

τρόπον] = Att. *τροπήν*, 'direction.' Various explanations of the story are given. The object of Cyrus was (1) merely to cross the river (Larch.), (2) to fertilize the country by irrigation (Bähr), (3) to give his army practice in the engineering operations which he had resolved to adopt at Babylon (Rawlinson).

CH. 190. § 1. **τριηκ. καὶ ἑξήκ.**] The number of days in the year (32. 3), and prob. also the number of the sacred horses. Cf. *ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ἵπποι λευκοὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἑκάστης ἡμέρης εἷς γινόμενος*, III. 90. 4.

ὑπέλαμπε] Properly of day-break. Spring is regarded as the dawn of the year (St.).

§ 2. **ἐκστρατευσάμενοι**] No attempt seems to have been made to turn the river defences to account (185. 7, n.). See Grote *H. G.* III. 180 (IV. 282).

§ 3. **προεσάξαντο**] It has been suggested that the verb here is not *προεσάγω* but *προσάσσω* (cf. 155. 4, n.): *frumentum ante sibi cumularunt*: cf. *σάξαντες ὕδατι*, III. 7. 1. But the question seems to be settled by *σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο*, V. 34. 1, where the construction of *σάσσω* would be extremely harsh. For the absence of augment, see 19. 1.

§ 4. **ἀνωτέρω**] simply = *ἐς τὸ πρόσω* (III. 56. 1): lit. 'further in-

191 *κοπτομένων.* Εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴ- 1
τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε.
τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς 2
τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὄπισθε αὖτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας
ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός· προεῖπε τῷ
στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι
ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα 3
παραινέσας, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηΐῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ.
Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων 4
βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην,
ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι 5
ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον
διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενο- 6
μένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ'
αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπο-
νενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κῃ, κατὰ
τοῦτο ἐσῄεσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο, 7
ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οὐδ' ἂν

land,' the metaphor being taken from an army, which, as it advances up the country, clears away (*προκόπτει*) the obstacles in its line of march.

CH. 191. § 2. **ἅπασαν**] Possibly *ἑτέρους* may be supplied here with *ἐξ ἐμβολῆς* from *ἑτέρους* below (Ab.). But the confusion of thought is rather apparent than real. Cyrus drew off his troops from their stations round the city and collected them in one spot (*τάξας τὴν στρ. ἅπ.*). He then detached a division (*ἑτέρους*) to cooperate below the city with the main body above, and after giving his orders to the fighting troops (*τῷ στρατῷ*) thus posted, marched away with the unserviceable portion of his army.

ὄπισθε] The city is regarded as facing up the stream (cf. 75. 4, n.). So *ἔμπροσθε τῶν Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὄπισθε*, VII. 176. 3; *ὄπισθε τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου*, VIII. 53. 2.

§ 4. **τὴν λίμνην**] The artificial basin (*ἔλυτρον*) mentioned 185. 5.

ἕτερα τοιαῦτα] = *similia* (120. 9).

§ 5. **ἐοῦσαν ἕλος**] Krüg. renders 'into the marsh which thus formed a lake,' reading *τό* for *τήν*. But the words as they stand may fairly mean: 'into the lake, being at that time a marsh.' Hdt. uses the term *λίμνη* of the basin, because it had once been a lake (185. 7), though it had ceased to be so. So *τῆς λίμνης* is used of the same spot, 185. 7, although just before it has been described as a marsh.

§ 6. **ὡς**] With *μάλιστά κῃ*.

§ 7. **ἔμαθον**] 'Seen for themselves.' Cf. *λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν*, VIII. 88. 2; *ἰδόντι καὶ μαθόντι*, VII. 37. 3.

οὐδ' ἂν] 'They would not have suffered them so much as to enter the city (from the river), and so would have destroyed them utterly.' The negative belongs to the participle only. *οὐδ'* (instead of *οὐκ*) = not merely would they have repulsed the attack, but also &c. See 141. 3, n.

ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ
τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε,
καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνά- 4
βασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους
ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἔστι 5
καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες
ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ 6
νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ
ἐστρωμένη, καί οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα 7
δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυ-
λίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν
ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἕληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἐόντες
182 ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ 1
πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν, καὶ
ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατάπερ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰ-
γυπτίῃσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι·
καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος
γυνή· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμι- 2
λίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρό-
μαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστή-

§ 3. **ἐπιβέβηκε**] 'Stands upon' ('stands firmly on,' Ab., who compares *ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν*, Xen. *An.* III. 2. 19). Cf. *παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος*, 'stands near him,' VII. 40. 6 (St.); *πυρῆς ἐπιβάντ' ἀλεγεινῆς* (of a corpse) Hom. *Il.* IV. 99.

μάλα] 134. 5, n.

μέχρι οὗ ὀ. πύργων] Acc. to Herm. (*ad Viger.* 251) this is a mixture of the two constructions, *μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργοι εἰσί*, and *μέχρι ὀκτὼ πύργων*. Klotz however (*Devarius*, 230) thinks that the full phrase is *μέχρι τούτου, ὃ ὀκτὼ πύργων* (*ἐστί*), *usque ad id quod* (*ad eum numerum qui*) *octo turrium sit*, 'up to the number of (belonging to) eight towers.' Cf. II. 173. 1.

§ 4. **ἀνάβασις**] 'Stairs to go up by.'

ἔξωθεν] The *πύργος* was *στερεός*.

ἔχουσα] With *κύκλῳ περί*, 'running round' (180. 4).

§ 5. **μεσοῦντι**] Cf. 51. 1.

§ 6. **οἱ**] = *τῇ κλίνῃ*. The absence of any *ἄγαλμα* renders this religious observance different from the Roman *lectisternium*.

§ 7. **οἱ Χαλδαῖοι**] See Grote *H. G.* II. 467 (III. 388).

CH. 182. § 1. **κατάπερ...κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον**] The relative precedes the demonstrative. Cf. *τάπερ—ἕτερα τοιαῦτα*, 191. 4; *κατάπερ—καὶ δὴ καί*, II. 146. 2; *ἐς οὗ—μέχρι τούτου*, III. 31. 3.

ἐκεῖθι] The local suffix is more frequent in Hdt. than in Attic prose. Cf. *μητρόθεν*, 173. 6; *ὀλιγαχόθεν*, III. 96. 1; *ἀρχῆθεν*, VII. 104. 1.

Διὸς τοῦ Θηβ.] Cf. II. 41. 1.

γυνή] II. 54. 2, n.

§ 2. **τοῦ θεοῦ**] Apollo. He was supposed to live at Patara during

ριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ὦν συγκατακληΐεται τὰς
183 νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱροῦ καὶ 1
ἄλλος κάτω νηός· ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἔνι κατήμενον
χρύσεον, καί οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέη, καὶ τὸ
βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεός ἐστι· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλ-
δαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἔξω
δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς 2
μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ 3
χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῦνα.
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια 4
τάλαντα ἔτεος ἑκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε, ἐπεὰν τὴν ὁρτὴν
ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν 5
χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριὰς δυώδεκα πηχέων, χρύσεος, στε-
ρεός. ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον· τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων,
ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος 6
ἐπιβουλεύσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου
ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε, ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν
ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμητο. ἔστι δὲ 7
καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

the winter months only. 'Qualis ubi *hibernam* Lyciam Xanthique fluenta Deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo.' Virg. *Aen.* IV. 143. So 'Delius *et* Patareus Apollo,' Hor. *Od.* III. 4. 64. The subject of γένηται may be (1) ὁ θεός, 'when he has come there,' like ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλίκων τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, VII. 77. 1: (2) χρηστήριον, anticipated from the following clause (Kr.): (3) ἡ πρόμαντις (Bähr), 'when she has become priestess (again)'. The last seems best.

ἐπεὰν δὲ γέν.] δέ resumes. Cf. 164. 4.

CH. 183. § 1. **ἔστι τοῦ**] 'Belongs to.'

τὸ βάθρον] The footstool or step in front of the θρόνος.

ταλάντων] Prob. the genitive of material, not that of price: 'made out of.'

§ 2. **τέλεα**] Opposed to γαλαθηνά, below.

προβάτων] 133. 2, n.

§ 5. **τὸν χρ. ἐκεῖνον**] This would naturally mean 'in the time of Cyrus,' the period which the narration has reached. But in this case ἔτι is rather pointless, since the statue remained till the reign of Xerxes, i.e. long afterwards. Perhaps the phrase simply means 'that great time,' i.e. the time of the Persian war. 'Through the whole of Hdt.'s work the wars for Greek freedom are the great crisis on which his eyes are fastened.' Kr.

ἀνδριὰς] is seldom used of the statue of a god (31. 9, n.).

ἐγὼ μέν μιν] It must have been removed before Hdt.'s visit to Babylon, since Xerxes died B.C. 465.

§ 6. **ἐπιβουλεύσας**] The Persians would naturally be hostile to the religion of the Chaldaeans (Bähr). In the account of the seven conspirators Darius is represented as extremely impetuous in character (III. 71—2).

κινέειν] 187. 3, n.

184 Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι 1
ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην
ποιήσομαι, οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ
δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον 2
γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις·
αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα.
πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.
185 Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασίλεια, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν 1
Νίτωκρις (αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξά-
σης), τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι,
τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρε-
μίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ

Ch. 184. § 1. **πολλοὶ**] Even while subject to Nineveh, Babylon prob. had a separate dynasty of its own. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. But the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι would have described the Ninevite dynasties as well, and these may be included under the πολλοὶ βασιλέες, since Hdt. does not distinguish between the two nations (178. 1, n.). 'Prob. his history of the Assyrian dynasties was as obscure and distorted as that which he gives of the Egyptian dynasties before Psammetichus in Bk. II.' St.

Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγ.] Cf. 75. 1: 106. 3; II. 38. 3; 161. 3. If Hdt. ever composed these λόγοι, they have not been incorporated into his work. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* VIII. 18) refers to a work περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου, which acc. to one reading of the passage was written by Hdt. The majority of the MSS. read Ἡσίοδος instead of Ἡρόδοτος. Still there are good reasons for thinking that the latter reading is the true one.

ἐπεκόσμησαν] 'Further beautified.'

§ 2. **ἡ μὲν...αὕτη μὲν**] Answered by ἡ δὲ...αὕτη δέ, next ch. See 113. 2; VII. 39. 3.

γενεῇσι πέντε] i.e. there were four intervening reigns (13. 4, n.). This would place Semiramis somewhere about the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747). Inscriptions recently discovered mention about this time a queen of *Nineveh* called *Sammuramit*, whose husband 'seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia.' See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VII. 19. Hdt. prob. imagines her to be the mythical Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

Ch. 185. § 1. **δεύτερον**] Used for ὕστερον (91. 3, n.) owing to δύο above. Nitocris is mentioned by no other authority, and 'no trace of her appears in the inscriptions.' The Egyptian name (II. 100. 3) may possibly be explained by supposing her to be 'an Egyptian captive.' Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. 21. Hdt. regards her as the mother of one Labynetus and the wife of another (188. 1, n.).

συνετωτέρη] An allusion to the masculine character and profligacy of the mythical Semiramis (St.).

ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε] ἀλλ' was inserted by Bekker: cf. 190. 3.

αὐτοῖσι] = ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τῶν Μήδων. The motive assigned by Hdt. cannot have been the true one, since the Medes were on friendly terms with the Babylonians (102. 4, n.) Prob. the real object was the improvement of the navigation, and the regulation

καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. Πρῶτα 2
μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὅς σφι
διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα
οὕτω δή τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν, ὥστε δὴ τρὶς ἐς τῶν τινὰ κω-
μέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων. τῇ δὲ κώμῃ 3
οὔνομά ἐστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα.
καὶ νῦν οἳ ἂν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυ-
λῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, τρίς τε ἐς
την αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι.
τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε. Χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' 4
ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ἄξιον θώυματος, μέγαθος
καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τί ἐστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος 5
ὤρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνῃ, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ
περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων στα-
δίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος
ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεί 6
τε δέ οἱ ὤρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη, κρηπῖδα κύκλῳ περὶ
αὐτὴν ἤλασε. Ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τόν τε ποταμὸν 7

of the floods. The windings would render the stream less rapid (ταχύς, 180. 2; *βραδύτερος*, 185. 7).

§ 2. **σφι**] Prob. the plur. Cf. VIII. 133. 1, where σφι prob. = the Persians, though Mardonius alone has been mentioned. Buttm. (*Lexil.* νῶε) concludes from the analogy of ἐμίν, that only σφιν (not σφι) was used in the singular.

οὕτω δή τι] 'So exceedingly.'

§ 3. **τῆσδε τῆς θ.**] See 1. 2, n.

ἐς τὸν Εὐφρ.] Since the journey was performed by land till the Euphrates was reached (V. 52. 5), καταπλέοντες (if ἐς is right) must be used in a pregnant sense, κατα- referring to the descent from the mountains to the river-basin: *quando ad Euphratem devenerint eoque Babylonem vehuntur*, Bähr.

§ 4. **ὅσον τί ἐστι**] 'Worthy to be marvelled at, how great it is (i.e. that it is so great) in bulk and height.' Cf. οἷον, 31. 6, n.; ὅσων, II. 171. 1; θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ, III. 113. 1. τι is added on the analogy of τοσοῦτό τι (192. 5), ὅσον being equivalent to ὅτι τοσοῦτο.

§ 5. **ἔλυτρον λίμνῃ**] 'A basin for a lake,' i.e. a lake-basin. ἔλυτρον, lit. that which wraps up (ἐλύω), encloses (the water). Below, § 7, this reservoir is called a marsh (ἕλος), because there would naturally be but little water in it except when it drained the river (186. 7).

ὀλίγον τι] refers to the space between the lake and the river.

ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ] 'Till she reached water,' i.e. till the bottom of the reservoir was level with the river-bed, when water from the river would begin to filter through.

αἰεὶ] *Singulis locis.* St.

χοῦν] ὄρυγμα denotes the hole dug, χοῦς the earth dug out (II. 150. 2).

σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἕλος, ὡς ὅ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτε-
ρος εἴη, περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι
σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκηται περί-
οδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χώρης 8
τῇ αἵ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ,
ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγ-
186 ματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ 1
ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. Τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο 2
φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον
βασιλέων, ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοὔτε-
ρον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν. καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, 3
ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπεί τε γὰρ

§ 7. **τὸ ὄρ. πᾶν ἕλος**] 'Turned the whole place which she had dug into a marsh.'

εἴη...ἔωσι] The usual explanations are (1) that the subjunctive denotes a certain, the optative only a probable (or possible) result: (2) that the subj. represents the realization of the proposed end, while the opt. represents it merely as a supposition in the mind (II. 93. 7, n.): (3) that the subj. expresses a direct, the opt. merely an indirect or ulterior consequence. No single one of these explanations will suit all passages, and it is often difficult to see any difference of meaning.

ἔκ τε τῶν πλ.] 'And that after the voyage was over, men might find awaiting them a long journey by land round the lake.'

ἐκδέκηται] Sc. *τοὺς πλέοντας*. Hdt. supposes that in case of invasion the plan would be to make the river unnavigable by drawing the water off. But this was not actually done to stop Cyrus (190. 2, n.), and moreover the invaders might still have followed the river-bank. Ordinarily the stream was navigable down to Babylon (194. 6).

§ 8. **τῆς ἐκ Μ. ὁδοῦ**] No part of the course of the Euphrates above Babylon would have been on the direct road to Media, which lay to the north-east across the Tigris, while the Euphrates flowed from Armenia (180. 2), i.e. from the north-west. 'The mistake appears to have arisen from a confusion of B. with Nineveh.' St.

CH. 186. § 1. **ἐκ βάθεος**] Ab. renders: 'out of the materials obtained from the excavation,' in which case *ταῦτα* can only refer to the river-embankment (185. 5). But possibly the phrase is an adverbial one (like *ἐξ ἴσου*): = 'below ground,' as opposed to the quays and bridge described in what follows.

ταῦτα...περιεβάλετο] 'Girt (the city) round with these defences' (163. 3).

ἐξ αὐτῶν] Not 'after they were finished' (a use of *ἐξ*, which requires a verb either expressing or implying motion), but 'in consequence of them,' 'by means of them:' = *ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου*, below. The *λίμνη* described above made it possible to add the supplementary works.

§ 2. **ἐούσης**] Acc. to Krüg., if this reading is right (*ἐόντων* has been conjectured), the meaning must be *ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φάρσεα*. But *ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φαρσέων* would be good Greek, the gen. being descriptive. See II. 138. 3. n.

μέσον] The article is omitted owing to the commonness of the phrase (111. 2, n.).

§ 3. **προεῖδε**] *προ-* refers to the

ὤρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας· ὡς 4
δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἑτοῖμοι, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο,
ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὤρυσσε
χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ 5
ἀρχαίου ῥεέθρου, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν
ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῇσι κατὰ
τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα
τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι, τοὺς ὠρύξατο, οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν,
δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολίβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ 6
ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν
τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ
ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαίρεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες
τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν 7
λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν
γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα
ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν, ἕλος
γενόμενον, ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι
187 γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασίλεια καὶ 1
ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο. Ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα
λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἑωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο
μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων. ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς 2

future inconvenience which would arise, unless some remedy were devised.

§ 4. **τὸ ῥέεθρον**] The stream: but below, *τοῦ ῥ.* = the river-bed.

ὤρυσσε] 'which she was digging' (as described above): the descriptive imperf. instead of the pluperf. (81. 2, n.).

§ 5. **καταβάσιας**] 'Steps to go down by' (179. 4, n.).

πυλίδων] See 180. 5.

§ 6. **ξύλα τετρ.**] 'Square planking,'—apparently a sort of drawbridge, which was raised at night.

§ 7. **ἕλος γενόμενον**] Stein reads *γινόμενον*, 'that was afterwards to become a marsh,' comparing *ἐγίνετο*, 187. 5. But *γενόμενον* is simpler: 'the basin after it had become a marsh (i.e. after the water which made it a *λίμνη* had been drawn off, and the channel closed) was seen to have answered its object well.'

CH. 187. § 1. **ἐπιπολῆς**] simply = 'above,' not 'resting upon' (II. 96. 3). The tomb was in the upper part of the gateway, which in the East was often a building of considerable importance, being used for the transaction of public business.

πυλέων] The plural of a single gateway, because each gate had two valves. Cf. 205. 3, n. *αὐτέων* = *just* above the gates.

τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΥ ῾ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣῌ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ, ΛΑΒΕΤΩ ῾ΟΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ, ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ, ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞῌ. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. *Οὗτος* 3
ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος, μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληΐη. Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύ- 4
τῃσι μηδὲν χρέεσθαι· καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν χρημάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῇσι δὲ 5
πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον 6
εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὔ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· ΕΙ ΜΗ ΑΠΛΗΣΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΕΑΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΗΣ, ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΘΗΚΑΣ ΑΝΕῼΓΕΣ. *Αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.*

188 *῾Ο δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα* 1
ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοὔνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασσυρίων ἀρχήν. Στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ 2

§ 2. **γράμματα**] 'Intellige de literis cuneatis,' Bähr.

μὴ σπανίσας γε] = *ἢν γε μὴ σπανίσῃ*. The former *γε* belongs to *ἀνοίξῃ*.

ἄλλως] 'for any other reason,' *temere*.

οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον] 'It is not better' = it is better not. *οὐ*, as in *οὐ κελεύω*, *οὐκ ἐῶ*. There seems to be an allusion to Hes. *Op.* 750, *μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.*

§ 3. **ἀκίνητος**] i.e. was regarded as something sacred, *κινέω* being used of sacrilege. Cf. *κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων*, VI. 134. 4.

περιῆλθε] See 7. 1, n.

§ 4. **καὶ δεινὸν**] *δεινὸν ἐδόκεε... καὶ μηδὲν χρέεσθαι...καὶ μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν.* *μὴ οὐ* is used because *δεινὸν εἶναι* implies a negative notion. Acc. to Hermann *per μή certo, per μὴ οὐ dubitantius negatur.* 'But in many places the meaning is rather that of wondering or indignant repudiation of the opposite notion.' Madv. *G. S. App.* 295. Tr. 'it seemed monstrous, when treasure was there, actually asking to be taken, not to take it.'

§ 5. **ἐγίνετο**] *Futurus erat.* 'By a rhetorical expression the imperf. without *ἄν* is used to denote what would be (or have been) an immediate or easily-foreseen consequence of anything,—the consequence being described as already in the act of taking place.' *Madv.* So the aor. *διέβησαν*, 75. 6. Hermann calls this 'the rhetorical omission of *ἄν*.'

§ 6. **ἔας**] So *ἔα*, II. 19. 3. Other forms of the imperf. used by Hdt. are *ἔσκε*, 196. 3; *ἦε*, 196. 5. Doubtful forms are *ἤεν*, 181. 2, n.; *ἔην*, VII. 143. 1.

CH. 188. § 1. **Λαβυνήτου**] In

βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω 3 τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἕπονται, ὅπῃ

189 ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἑκάστοτε. Ἐπεί τε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ 1 τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὔρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγριν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὦπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ· τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος, ἐόντα νηυσιπερητὸν, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο. ὁ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ πο- 2

apposition with **πατρός**. Labynetus I. must have been king (he is prob. meant at 74. 5), since Nitocris was queen. Labynetus II. (cf. 77. 3) is clearly to be identified with the *Nabu-nahit* (='Nebo blesses') of the inscriptions. But there is great uncertainty about Nitocris and her husband. *Nebuchadnezzar* (died B.C. 561) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who was murdered and succeeded by his brother-in-law *Neriglissar* (559—556), whose son was put to death by conspirators, one of whom (*Nabunahit*) was elected king (555). Nitocris on one theory was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, on another of Evil-merodach: but Hdt.'s account cannot be harmonized with other authorities. The river-fortifications attributed by him to Nitocris were the work of Nabunahit. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. 21.

§ 2. **Στρατεύεται δὲ**] Hdt. applies to Cyrus the customs of the Persian kings of his own day.

ὁ μέγας] The Behistun inscription (125. 5, n.) begins: 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings.' So our ancestors talked of 'the grand Turk,' 'the grand Seignior.'

ἐσκευασμένος] Prob. right, instead of ἐσκευασμένοισι, which however might = 'dressed' (73. 5).

§ 3. **ἀπεψημένου**] 'This shews that the water did not serve for drinking,' Stein:—who thinks that it was used for religious rites, comparing **σπένδων** (of Xerxes, before crossing the Hellespont), VII. 54. 2. The water of the Choaspes is said to have been remarkably pure, so that it would not have been necessary to boil it, in order to render it fit for drinking.

CH. 189. § 1. **Γύνδῃ**] See *Dict. Geogr.* Cyrus was marching to Babylon from Ecbatana (153. 6). The Matieni mentioned here are quite distinct from those in Asia Minor (72. 2).

ὁ δὲ] i.e. the Tigris.

ἱρῶν ἵππων] They drew the sacred chariot and the chariot of the king (VII. 40. 4—6).

συμψήσας] Swept him off, 'obliterating all trace of him as one rubs out footmarks in sand (Ar, *Nub.* 975).' St.

οἰχώκεε] The pluperf. as at 79. 2.

ταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καί οἱ ἐπηπείλησε, οὕτω δή
μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν
εὐπετέως, τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας, διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν 3
ἀπειλὴν μετεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν, διαίρεε τὴν
στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας
διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος
τετραμμένας τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον. διατάξας δὲ τὸν 4
στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζο-
μένου, ἤνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν
190 αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην 1
ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος, ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντά μιν
διώρυχας διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω
δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρα- 2
τευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ
τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ ἑσσωθέντες τῇ 3
μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι
πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὁρέοντες αὐτὸν
παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων
κάρτα πολλῶν. Ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολι- 4
ορκίης οὐδένα· Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε
ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ, ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προ-

§ 3. **σχοινοτενέας δ.**] must be taken with both verb and part. With the former *σχ.* has a literal, with the latter a figurative sense. 'He laid out trenches by stretching a rope along, marking them out as straight as a line.'

τρόπον] = Att. *τροπήν*, 'direction.' Various explanations of the story are given. The object of Cyrus was (1) merely to cross the river (Larch.), (2) to fertilize the country by irrigation (Bähr), (3) to give his army practice in the engineering operations which he had resolved to adopt at Babylon (Rawlinson).

CH. 190. § 1. **τριηκ. καὶ ἑξήκ.**] The number of days in the year (32. 3), and prob. also the number of the sacred horses. Cf. *ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ἵπποι λευκοὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἑκάστης ἡμέρης εἷς γινόμενος*, III. 90. 4.

ὑπέλαμπε] Properly of day-break. Spring is regarded as the dawn of the year (St.).

§ 2. **ἐκστρατευσάμενοι**] No attempt seems to have been made to turn the river defences to account (185. 7, n.). See Grote *H. G.* III. 180 (IV. 282).

§ 3. **προεσάξαντο**] It has been suggested that the verb here is not *προεσάγω* but *προσάσσω* (cf. 155. 4, n.): *frumentum ante sibi cumularunt*: cf. *σάξαντες ὕδατι*, III. 7. 1. But the question seems to be settled by *σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο*, V. 34. 1, where the construction of *σάσσω* would be extremely harsh. For the absence of augment, see 19. 1.

§ 4. **ἀνωτέρω**] simply = *ἐς τὸ πρόσω* (III. 56. 1): lit. 'further in-

191 κοπτομένων. Εἴτε δὴ ὧν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴ- 1
τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε.
τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς 2
τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὄπισθε αὖτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας
ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός· προεῖπε τῷ
στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι
ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα 3
παραινέσας, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηΐῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ.
Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων 4
βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην,
ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι 5
ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον
διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενο- 6
μένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ'
αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπο-
νενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κῃ, κατὰ
τοῦτο ἐσῄεσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο, 7
ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οὐδ' ἂν

land,' the metaphor being taken from an army, which, as it advances up the country, clears away (*προκόπτει*) the obstacles in its line of march.

Ch. 191. § 2. **ἅπασαν**] Possibly *ἑτέρους* may be supplied here with *ἐξ ἐμβολῆς* from *ἑτέρους* below (Ab.). But the confusion of thought is rather apparent than real. Cyrus drew off his troops from their stations round the city and collected them in one spot (*τάξας τὴν στρ. ἅπ.*). He then detached a division (*ἑτέρους*) to cooperate below the city with the main body above, and after giving his orders to the fighting troops (*τῷ στρατῷ*) thus posted, marched away with the unserviceable portion of his army.

ὄπισθε] The city is regarded as facing up the stream (cf. 75. 4, n.). So *ἔμπροσθε τῶν Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὄπισθε*, VII. 176. 3; *ὄπισθε τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου*, VIII. 53. 2.

§ 4. **τὴν λίμνην**] The artificial basin (*ἔλυτρον*) mentioned 185. 5.

ἕτερα τοιαῦτα] = *similia* (120. 9).

§ 5. **ἐοῦσαν ἕλος**] Krüg. renders 'into the marsh which thus formed a lake,' reading *τό* for *τήν*. But the words as they stand may fairly mean: 'into the lake, being at that time a marsh.' Hdt. uses the term *λίμνη* of the basin, because it had once been a lake (185. 7), though it had ceased to be so. So *τῆς λίμνης* is used of the same spot, 185. 7, although just before it has been described as a marsh.

§ 6. **ὡς**] With *μάλιστά κῃ*.

§ 7. **ἔμαθον**] 'Seen for themselves.' Cf. *λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν*, VIII. 88. 2; *ἰδόντι καὶ μαθόντι*, VII. 37. 3.

οὐδ' ἂν] 'They would not have suffered them so much as to enter the city (from the river), and so would have destroyed them utterly.' The negative belongs to the participle only. *οὐδ'* (instead of *οὐκ*) = not merely would they have repulsed the attack, but also &c. See 141. 3, n.

περιϊδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, διέφθειραν
κάκιστα. κατακληΐσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν 8
πυλίδας ἐχούσας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἱμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς
παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἄν σφεας
ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ 9
Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν
ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων,
τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν
ἑαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτὴν) χορεύειν τε
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ
κάρτα ἐπύθοντο, καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο.

192 Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ 1
ἄλλοισι δηλώσω, ὅση τίς ἐστι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Βασιλέϊ
τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται,
πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα, ὅσης ἄρχει. δυώδεκα ὧν 2
μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει
μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν, ἡ λοιπὴ
πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμει 3
τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης· καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ

But the correction οἱ δ' (for οὐδ') is very plausible: they would have let them get into the city (i.e. into the river within the city walls), for thus they would have caught them in a trap. For οἱ δ' on this view, see notes, 107. 4; 112. 3.

§ 8. **ἂν**] is repeated, either on account of the length of the sentence, or to mark that the condition applies to the part. as well as to the main verb.

πυλίδας] 180. 3, 5.

κύρτῃ] Cf. *βόλος*, *δίκτυον*, 62. 5.

§ 9. **παρέστησαν**] 'Came upon them.' St. compares *τῷ δ'* (Thersites) *ὦκα παρίστατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*, Hom. *Il.* II. 243; and the phrases *παρίσταταί τινι θῶυμα* (23. 2), *θάνατος*, *συμφορά* etc.

οὐ μανθάνειν] For the inf. see 65. 6, n. Aristotle mentions a story that it was three days before parts of the city knew what had happened. *Pol.* III. 3. 5.

ὁρτὴν] 'Belshazzar's feast.'

καὶ τὸ κάρτα] Ironical: cf. 66. 4. For *καί*, see 117. 1.

πρῶτον] It was taken a second time by Darius (III. 159), B.C. 519.

CH. 192. § 1. **τοῦ φόρου**] The regular tribute, which amounted to a thousand talents of silver (III. 92. 1).

§ 2. **ἐς τὸν ἐν.**] 'To make up the year.'

τοὺς] See 18. 2, n.

§ 3. **Ἀσσυρίη**] i.e. Babylonia (178. 2, n).

τῆς ἄλλης] We should have expected the regular partitive genitive, *τῆς πάσης*. The gen. here may be regarded as the case of reference: 'a third part as compared with the rest of Asia' (which forms the other two thirds). So *μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων*

Πέρσαι σατραπηΐην καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἁπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων
πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχμῃ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ
βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον, ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήϊε
ἑκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή· ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὸν
Περσικὸν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλεῖον χοίνιξι τρισὶ
Ἀττικῇσι. ἵπποι δέ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίῃ, πάρεξ τῶν πολε- 4
μιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ
βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλιαι καὶ μύριαι. ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος
τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν 5
τοσοῦτο δή τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο, ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ
προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι
193 τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων 1
ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ
τοῦτο. ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἁδρύνεταί τε τὸ
λήϊον, καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος οὐ κατάπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσί
τε καὶ κηλωνηΐοισι ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη 2

Ἑλλήνων (which virtually = *μόνοι πάντων*) Aeschin. 2. 37 (cf. II. 156. 7); *ἣ μόνοι ἢ κάλλιστα τῶν ἄλλων*, Plat. *Rep.* I. 353. Or else the gen. is partitive. Assyria, while really distinct from the rest of Asia, is by the mode of expression represented as forming part of it. Compare notes on *τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα* and *ἑωυτῆς*, 193. 4. On either view the phrase is analogous to *εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων*, II. 161. 2.

σατραπηΐην] The Persian word which occurs in the Behistun inscription (Rawlinson) was *Khsatrapá*, or *Khshatrapá*.

ὅκου] Cf. 68. 2.

προσήϊε] *Redibat* (*πρόσοδοι* = *reditus*), i. e. at the time when Hdt. was at Babylon. Cf. *ὑπῆρχε*, below; *ἦν* 146. 6. There were 48 *χοίνικες* in the Attic *μέδιμνος*, which = about 12 gallons (English) or one bushel and a half.

§ 4. **αὐτοῦ**] 'There,' i. e. in Babylonia. 'Possibly a gloss on *οἱ*.' Kr. Or possibly the true reading is *αὐτῷ*, which would strengthen *ἰδίῃ*.

§ 5. **κῶμαι—προσετετάχατο**] = *κώμαις προσετέτακτο*. See 7. 5, n. These Indian hounds (a very large breed) were kept for hunting.

ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα] 'Belonged of right.' *ὑπάρχω*, because he could (and no doubt did) claim further privileges. Inversely, *ὕπαρχον εἶναι*, V. 124. 2.

CH. 193. § 1. **ὀλίγῳ**] Sc. *ὕδατι*, the instrumental dative. Cf. *ὕσαι ὕδατι*, 87. 2; *ὕσθησαν ψακάδι*, III. 10. 4.

τοῦτο] = *τὸ ὀλίγον* acc. to Stein. But it rather = *ὕεσθαι*, *ὕεται* being the emphatic word, as is shown by the position of *μέν*. The rain, little as it is, is sufficient for the first stage of the crop: but everything afterwards has to be done by irrigation.

παραγίνεται] 'Comes on.'

σῖτος] is 'the full corn in the ear,' *λήϊον*, 'the blade.'

οὐ—ἀναβαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ—ἀρδόμενος] Cf. 62. 1, n.

ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ] See II. 14. 3.

πᾶσα, κατάπερ ἡ Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέτμηται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ
ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον
τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν· ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ
τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν, παρ' ὃν Νῖνος πόλις οἴκητο.
ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη ἁπασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη, τῶν ἡμεῖς 3
ἴδμεν, Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα 4
οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε
ἐλαίην, τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν
ἐστί, ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδοῖ, ἐπεὰν δὲ
ἄριστα αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ἐνείκῃ, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ 5
φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶι τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος
γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ 6
σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος

§ 2. **πρὸς ἥλιον τ. τὸν χ.**] i.e. 'south-east,' since ἥλιος = ὁ τόπος ἐξ οὗ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατέλλει, Hesych. (quoted by Stein). Cf. οἱ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες (= οἱ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων in the preceding sect.) VII. 70. 2; and the Homeric πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε.

παρ' ὃν] Not quite like ἐς τόν (14. 6, n.), since οἴκητο does not so definitely imply previous movement as προκατίζων. Prob. the use of the accus. here is due to the fact that the city would not touch the river merely at a single point, but would extend along it to some distance. So κῶμαι πολλαὶ ἦσαν παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ('as one walked along'), Xen. *An.* III. 5. 1. The clause παρ' ὃν κ.τ.λ. is added merely as a description of the Tigris, which however has been mentioned before (189. 1). Cf. 170. 3, n.

§ 3. **Δ. καρπὸν**] Poetical: cf. Δημήτερος ἀκτήν, Hom. *Il.* XIII. 322.

§ 4. **τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα**] To our idiom ἄλλα appears redundant, since corn cannot be included under the class δένδρεα (δένδρον below, used of millet, has a special force). So Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, V. 32. 2. More frequently ἄλλος is used without the article in this way. Cf. ἄλλα, 216. 3; ἄλλην τε ἑκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα, IV. 179. 1; οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν, Xen. *An.* I. 5. 5. In these passages either we have another instance of the tendency of Greek idiom to represent objects as included in a class to which they do not belong (192. 3, n.), or else ἄλλος stands in apposition with the subst., = those other things, namely fruit trees. The Homeric use of ἄλλος (e.g. θυμὸς δέ μοι ἔσσυται ἤδη | ἠδ' ἄλλων ἑτάρων, *Od.* X. 485), is rather in favour of the latter explanation.

πειρᾶται] Sc. ἡ χώρη.

οὐδὲ—ἀρχὴν] *Ne omnino quidem*, 'does not even begin to try' (9. 3. n.), 'makes no pretence of bearing.'

ἑωυτῆς] 'As compared with itself' (at other times). This idiom has been called *comparatio reflexiva*. The gen. is one of reference, and is equivalent in meaning to πρός with the accus. So τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι, 'favourably situated as regards the war,' Thuc. III. 92. 5. The Greeks could not merely say (as we say) 'best of all,' but also 'best of others' (192. 3, n.) and 'best of oneself.'

§ 6. **δένδρον**] is emphatic. They may be called *trees*.

μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς
τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς
ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπῖκται. χρέονται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκ 7
τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δέ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες
ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ
σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον 8
θεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ φοινίκων, τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες
καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφό-
ροισι τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τέ σφι ὁ ψὴν τὴν βάλανον
ἐσδύνων, καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος. ψῆνας 9
γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατάπερ δὴ οἱ
ὄλυνθοι.

194 Τὸ δὲ ἁπάντων θῶυμα μέγιστόν μοί ἐστι τῶν ταύτῃ, 1
μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων. τὰ πλοῖα 2
αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυ-
λῶνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι 3
Ἀρμενίοισι, τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι, νομέας
ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας
στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν, ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀπο-

καρπῶν ἐχ.] 'Even the aforesaid yield of fruit,' lit. 'that which appertains to' (120. 4), hence 'the productive qualities' of the *καρποί* mentioned above.

ἀπῖκται] 'Have met with.' So *ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι*, 'though they underwent all sorts of torture,' VIII. 110. 3. Hdt. refers to the incredulity of people with whom he had conversed on the subject.

§ 7. **ποιεῦντες**] One MS. *ποιεῦνται*, which is prob. the result of *ποιεῦνται* below. The passage is an instance of the coordination of participle and finite verb (8. 2). By supplying *ἔλαιόν τι χρέονται* the sentence becomes grammatically correct.

ἐκ τῶν κ.τ.λ.] The palm here mentioned is the date-palm, the sap of which by fermentation produces palm-wine, and if not allowed to ferment yields a 'saccharine syrup' (*μέλι*). By *σιτία* Hdt. means either pressed cakes of dates, or more prob. the soft pith at the top of the palm-stem, which is called palm-cabbage.

§ 8. **τοὺς ἔρσ.**] *τούς* is the relative. *ἔρσενας*. So called because they bear no dates.

ἵνα πεπ. κ.τ.λ.] This statement about the gall-fly is a mistake. It is necessary however to secure fructification that the pollen from the blossoms of the male palm should come in contact with the fruit of the date-tree. Hence the practice, which is still observed.

ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φ.] = *βάλανος* above.

CH. 194. § 2. **πάντα**] With *σκύτινα* (179. 5), referring to the outward appearance merely (*ἔξωθεν*, § 3).

§ 3. **ἐπεὰν...ποιήσωνται**] 'They make...and then' (17. 4, n.).

ἐδάφεος τρ.] This if right seems

κρίνοντες, οὔτε πρῴραν συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον
κυκλοτέρεα ποιήσαντες. καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ 4
πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων
πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηΐους κατάγουσι οἴνου
πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπό τε δύο πλήκτρων, καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν
ὀρθῶν ἑστεώτων· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἕλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἔξω
ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ 5
ἐλάσσω, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων
γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ
τοῖσι μέζοσι πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν 6
Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ
πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὦν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ 7
διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους, ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς

to mean 'by way of bottom,' or 'hull.' The ἔδαφος νηός (Hom. *Od.* v. 249) is the skeleton or ground-plan of the ship, before the details are filled in. But the use of τρόπον is strange on this explanation, since properly it ought to introduce a comparison. If we could omit it (on the supposition that it had got into the text here owing to ἀσπίδος τρόπον below), we might construct ἐδάφεος with ἔξωθεν,—'they strain a sheathing of skins round these, outside the framework.'

οὔτε πρύμνην] 'They neither keep the sides apart for the stern, nor draw them in for the stem.' Cf. ἀπεκρίθη, 60. 4; συνῆγον αἰεὶ τὴν διώρυχα, 'kept narrowing it in,' VII. 23. 3. Tacitus describes boats of a somewhat similar construction,—'pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio,' *Hist.* III. 47.

§ 4. **καλάμης**] For packing the cargo.

φέρεσθαι] Cf. καλέεσθαι, 176. 1.

φοινικ.] 'Of palm wood.' The correction φοινικηΐου is both without MS. authority and inconsistent with 193. 7.

ὁ μὲν ἔσω] St. translates: 'while the one draws the oar-handle inwards, the other pushes it outwards.' But he admits that this is not clear. More prob. ἔσω, ἔξω go with ὁ μέν, ὁ δέ. As the oars would be required merely for steering, only one would be used at a time. At this the man who had the outside place, at the extremity of the handle of the oar (ὁ ἔξω), stood with his face to the bows (in order to steer better) and pushed, while between him and the side of the boat (ἔσω), at the same oar, the other stood with his face to the stern and pulled in the ordinary way.

§ 5. **καὶ πεντακισχ.**] Cf 117. 1, n. If the talents meant are Euboic this would be about 180 tons; if Babylonian, considerably over 200.

§ 6. **ἀπ' ὦν ἐκήρυξαν**] This form of tmesis (apparently a provincialism, as it does not occur in Homer) is always as here used with the aorist and (with the exception of II. 172. 4) in descriptions of a customary process. It is esp. common in Book II. Cf. 39. 3; 40. 2; 47. 1; 70. 3. The usual explanation is that it = 'straightway, without more ado.' But this is prob. too definite. Perhaps ὦν simply expresses the correspondence of the apodosis with the protasis, like τε in ἐπεί τε, ὅς τε (14. 8, n.). Cf. 132. 4, where ὦν is put with the verb, although there is no tmesis: also 144. 1; II. 20. 8.

'Αρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἷά τέ ἐστι πλέειν
οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ
οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν 8
δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς 'Αρμενίους,
ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα
195 αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τοιαῦτα. 'Εσθῆτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι 1
ποδηνεκέϊ λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπεν-
δύνει, καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων
ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες 2
δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρῃσι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ
σῶμα. σφρηγῖδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειρο- 3
ποίητον, ἐπ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ σκήπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ
μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι. ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισή- 4
μου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον. αὕτη μὲν δή σφι
ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμά ἐστι.
196 Νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστέασι. ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος 1
ὅδε, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ 'Ιλλυριῶν 'Ενετοὺς
πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἑκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος 2
ἑκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε. ὡς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γινοίατο γάμων
ὡραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν, πάσας ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσά-
γεσκον ἀλέας· πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν. ἀνιστὰς 3

CH. 195. § 1. **τοιῇδε**] refers not merely to *κιθῶνι*, but also to *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον—ἐμβάσι*.

χρέωνται—ἐπενδύνει] A change from the plural to the collective singular (*ὁ Βαβυλώνιος*): cf. 132. 2; 197. 2, 4; II. 38. 2. See also 97. 1; 179. 3, notes. *ἐπενδύνει* governs both *κιθῶνα* and *χλανίδιον*, but *περιβαλλόμενος* belongs only to the latter.

§ 2. **μίτρῃσι**] 'Turbans.'

§ 3. **σφρηγῖδα**] Engraved gems and 'cylinders' (i. e. pierced stones of a cylindrical shape which were rolled along the surface of the clay in order to make impressions) have been found in great numbers among the ruins (Layard's *Ninev. and Bab.* 538). There is a large collection of them in the British Museum.

CH. 196. § 1. **ἡμετέρην**] Less dogmatic than *ἐμήν*, 'as I (and those who think with me) believe.' Cf. 37. 2.

'Ιλλ. 'Ενετοὺς] Hdt.'s *Venetia* seems to include part of the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

§ 2. **ἐποιέετο**] 'Used to be done' (§ 8).

ὡς] = *ὅκως*, 'as often as' (68. 7). Here the addition of *ἄν* (extremely rare) either implies that the action is dependent on some condition (= 'in case there were any'), or else is a continuation of the Epic use, e. g. *ἐπὴν κρητῆρι μιγείη*, Hom. *Od.* IV. 222; *ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡβήσειε*, Hes. *Op.* 131. The emendations suggested, *ὧν ἂν αἱ π.*, *ὅσαι αἰεὶ π.*, are extremely forced.

πάσας] prob. goes with what follows, not with *συναγάγοιεν*. Krüg. compares *ἀθρόοι γενόμεναι πᾶσαι*, Xen. *Hell.* I. 3. 17.

δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐει-
δεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὑροῦσα πολλὸν
χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ἣ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε
εὐειδεστάτη. ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικήσει. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ 4
ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες
ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου
ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἴδεος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ,
οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον.
ὡς γὰρ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν 5
παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων
ἔμπηρος ἦε, καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι, ἐλάχιστον
χρυσίον λαβὼν, συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπι-
σταμένῳ προσεκέετο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν 6
εὐειδέων παρθένων· καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὔμορφοι τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ
ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, 7
ὅτεῳ βούλοιτο ἕκαστος, οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπαγα-
γέσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν κατα-
στήσαντα, ἦ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ
μὴ συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἐκέετο νόμος. ἐξῆν 8
δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι.
ὁ μέν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε

§ 3. **εὑροῦσα**] As we talk of anything 'fetching' a large sum.

ἔσκε] Always used by Hdt. in a frequentative sense (IV. 129. 3; 200. 4; VI. 133. 4).

ἐπὶ συνοικ.] i. e. not as slaves.

§ 4. **ἐπίγαμοι**] is predicate.

οὗτοι δὲ] See 113. 2, n. Here οὗτοι μὲν is omitted before ὑπερβάλλοντες.

οἱ δ'] 107. 4, n.

ἂν] Below, § 6.

§ 5. **διεξέλθοι**] With πωλέων,—'had come to an end of selling.'

ἦε] 187. 6, n.

προσεκέετο] sc. ἡ πάρθενος, 'was assigned to.'

§ 6. **τὸ δὲ ἂν χρ.**] For the separation of article and subst., see I. 4. Hermann (*Opusc.* IV. 20) well explains the use of ἂν with the imperf. indic. in a frequentative sense (cf. ἂν ἐλάμβανον, ἀνίστη ἄν, above) as implying that out of several facts mentioned any single one may be referred to, and thus involving an element of chance. This explanation will perfectly well cover ἂν ἐγίνετο here: 'the gold (in any particular case that you chanced to take) would come,' i. e. 'the gold (in all cases) used to come.' Hence it is strange that Herm. here (after suggesting αὖ as the possible reading) should limit the force of ἂν to χρυσίον, by translating 'quantum id forte auri erat.'

ἐξεδίδοσαν] 'Provided dowries for' (93. 4).

§ 7. **ἦ μὲν**] See II. 118. 3, n.

ἀποφέρειν] To pay back (into the common fund). ἀπο- as in ἀπορράψας, 123. 5. Cf. 2, 4; 14. 2, n.

διετέλεσε ἐών. ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι, ἵνα 9
μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς, μήδ' ἐς ἑτέρην πόλιν ἄγωνται· ἐπεί τε γὰρ
ἁλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου,
197 βίου σπανίζων, καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. Δεύτερος δὲ 1
σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατεστήκεε. τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς
τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι. προσι- 2
όντες ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα, συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νούσου,
εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε, ὁκοῖον ἔχει ὁ κάμνων, ἢ ἄλλον
εἶδε παθόντα. ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι, καὶ παραι- 3
νέουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον, ἢ ἄλλον
εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὔ σφι 4
198 ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει. Ταφαὶ δέ 1
σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.
ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, 2
περὶ θυμίημα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἑτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὠυτὸ
τοῦτο ποιέει. ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου, λοῦνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· 3
ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἅψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταὐτὰ δὲ
ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.
199 Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἴσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι 1
ὅδε. δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφρο-
δίτης, ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζόῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ 2
οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερ-

§ 9. **γενέσθαι**] The epexegetical infinitive is not without parallel (see notes on *τελευτῆσαι*, 32. 8; *εἶναι*, 153. 6). But the whole passage has the appearance of having been tampered with by the copyists. Stein conjectures that the words *γενέσθαι—ἄγωνται* originally stood in the MSS. before *ὁ μέν νυν κάλλιστος* (§ 8), and that a line has been lost between *ὠνέεσθαι* and *γενέσθαι*. He suggests as the lost words: *χρῆν δὲ καὶ τούτων (τῶν ἀπ' ἄλλης κώμης) ὥσπερ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγγυητὰς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν (γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ.)*. This certainly gets rid of the difficulties.

ἀδικοῖεν] By making them slaves (§ 3). The subject to *ἀδικοῖεν* is *οἱ βουλόμενοι ὠνέεσθαι* (§ 8), and *ἄγωνται* is middle, not passive (34. 5; 146. 4). For *ἀδικοῖεν—ἄγωνται*, see 185. 7, n.

ἁλόντες] By the Persians.

CH. 197. § 2. **τὸν κάμνοντα**] Above *τοὺς κάμνοντας* (195. 1).

καὶ αὐτὸς] As well as the sick man.

§ 4. **σφι**] Prob. plural (185. 2, n.). Hence here we have another instance of the change from plur. to sing. (*ἐπείρηται*).

CH. 198. § 1. **ἐν μέλιτι**] Strabo adds *κηρῷ περιπλάσαντες* (Bähr): cf. 140. 2.

τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγ.] See II. 85.

§ 3. **καὶ ἀμφότεροι**] See 117. 1, n.

ἅψονται] 173. 6. n.

CH. 199. § 1. **ἐς**] Cf. 14. 6.

ἱρὸν] = *τέμενος* (§ 3). Cf. 181. 2.

§ 2. **οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι**] 'Not thinking it worthy of themselves,' i.e.

φρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν
ἑστᾶσι· θεραπηίη δέ σφι ὄπισθε ἕπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ 3
πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε. ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται, στέ-
φανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος, πολλαὶ γυ-
ναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινο- 4
τενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν
γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν 5
ἵζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἤ τίς οἱ
ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ.
ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· "Ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν 6
Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. 7
τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται·
οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον.
τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἕπεται, οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾷ οὐδένα. 8
ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ, ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ
οἰκία· καὶ τὠπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις, ὥς μιν
λάμψεαι. ὅσαι μέν νυν εἴδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγά- 9

thinking it unworthy of themselves, 'not deigning.' Thus *οὐκ* is used as in *οὔ φημι*.

§ 3. **θώμιγγος**] In token of servitude to the goddess. This same practice is referred to in the book of Baruch (6. 43).

§ 4. **σχοινοτενέες**] may have either a literal or a figurative sense (189. 3, n.).

πάντα τρόπον] is prob. adverbial, and *ἔχουσι* intrans. as at 180. 4. (Compare 189. 3 with II. 108. 3). On this view *ὁδῶν* follows *τρόπον* almost pleonastically; 'running in all directions in which paths can run.' Others take *ὁδῶν* with *διέξοδοι*, but the order is against this. *ὁδόν*, the reading of some MSS. (which Abicht supposes to have arisen owing to a repetition of *οπον* from the preceding word), might be retained if *ὁδὸν ἔχουσι* could = *praebent iter*. But see note, 126. 5. Bekker's conjecture *δι' ὧν ἔχουσι* is opposed to Hdt.'s invariable practice of using the aorist with this form of tmesis (194. 6).

§ 6. **τοσόνδε**] 'No more than this' (128. 2).

ἐπικαλέω τοι] 'I call to witness against thee.' Bähr explains *τοι* by 'tuam in gratiam, ut tibi propitia adsit dea:'—'the spirit of the goddess be upon thee.' But the phrase is more probably a sort of threat: = the goddess will punish disobedience. So Cambyses lays a charge upon the Persians, *θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληΐους ἐπικαλέων ὑμῖν*, III. 65. 10.

Μύλιττα] Cf. 131. 3.

§ 7. **ὅσον ὦν**] 'As small as you please.' *ὅσον ὦν* = *quantulumcunque* (II. 22. 7), while *ὅσον δή* = *quantumcunque* (157. 3; 160. 2).

οὐ γὰρ μή] (the amount makes no difference) for.

§ 8. **ἀποδοκιμᾷ**] Prob. the future (97. 3, n.). See however L. and S. *Lex.*

ὥς μιν] Krüger reads *ᾧ μιν* (cf. 87. 4, n.). But *ὡς* will stand very well in the sense of *ὥστε*. Cf. *προσφιλέες οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο, ὡς...ἐκέλευσε*, 163. 3. So also with the infin., e.g. *ἐξικέσθαι*, II. 135. 2, n.

λάμψεαι] = *λήψεαι*.

§ 9. **ἐπαμμέναι**] 'As many as have attained unto comeliness and

θεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. 'Ενιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος 10
200 τούτῳ νόμος. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστέασι. 1
Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς, αἳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθῦς μοῦνον· τοὺς ἐπεί τε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε. 2
ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὅλμον καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος· καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν, ἅτε μάζαν μαξάμενος ἔχει· ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας. 3

201 'Ως δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς, πέρην τοῦ 'Αράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ 'Ισσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. 1
εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ τινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν 2

stature.' Cf. ἐπὴν χείρεσσιν ἐφάψεαι ἠπείροιο (shalt reach by swimming), Hom. *Od.* v. 348. Bähr explains: *quae speciem sibi aptam et quasi connexam habent*,' 'as many as have beauty fastened on to them (by way of ornament).' This meaning of the verb might perhaps be justified by the Homeric use of the passive (e.g. ἀθανάτοισιν ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ἐφῆπται, *Il.* XXI. 513), but if Bähr's rendering were the right one, the construction here would require the accus. instead of the gen. (cf. τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, 180. 3).

μεγάθεος] Part of the Greek conception of beauty. Cf. 60. 5.

§ 10. **ἐνιαχῇ καὶ τῆς Κ.**] At Paphos and Amathus.

CH. 200. § 2. **πατριαὶ**] = φρῆτραι or γένεα (125. 4, n.). These 'clans' would prob. be the inhabitants of the marshy districts at the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris (St.).

§ 3. **αὐτων**] The partitive genitive after ὅς. It can hardly = ἰχθύων.

ἔχει] = 'has them for food,' since it cannot well be taken with μαξάμενος, like δουλώσας ἔχεις, 27. 4.

ὁ δὲ] 'the other' implied in the previous μέν.' Supply ἔχει. The μάζα was a soft doughcake, prob. something like the Australian 'damper.'

CH. 201, § 1. **κατέργαστο**] See 207. 8, n. πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλ. ἀν. Cf. 193. 2, n. Similar pleonasms occur II. 8. 1; 31. 2.

ἀντίον] Acc. to St. this = 'in the same longitude, but further south.' But prob. nothing so definite is meant. The word merely implies that the two nations in some way or other occupied corresponding positions (balanced one another) on Hdt.'s map (see notes on II. 11. 3; 34. 3), and we have no means of determining accurately what their relative positions were. κατά (lit. 'over against') is used in a similarly indefinite way (I. 76. 1; II. 75. 1).

ἀνδρῶν] is poetical. 'Prob. the phrase occurred in the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas (IV. 13. 1; 14. 6), whose account of the Issedones Hdt. borrowed.' St.

§ 2. **οἵ τινες καὶ**] καί is put with the relative instead of with the demonstrative clause (2. 3, n.). οἵ

202 λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ 1
μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἴστρου· νήσους δ' ἐν αὐτῷ,
Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας, συχνάς φασι εἶναι. ἐν δὲ 2
αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους, οἳ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσον-
τες παντοίας, καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς
φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὡραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν
χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοι- 3
ούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τούς, ἐπεί τε ἂν ἐς τὠυτὸ συνέλθωσι
κατὰ εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται, κύκλῳ περιϊζομένους ἐπι-
βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ· ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ
καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδμῇ, κατάπερ
Ἕλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ. πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ 4
μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς
ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαιτα εἶναι.
Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ 5
Γύνδης, τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἑξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας

τινες prob. refers to Hecataeus: Steph. Byz. Ἰσσηδόνες, ἔθνος Σκυθικόν· Ἑκ. Ἀσ. (Müll. *Fr. Hec.* 168).

CH. 202. § 1. **Ἀράξης**] It is impossible to reconcile Hdt.'s different statements, though he nowhere implies that there was more than one river of the name. His Araxes rises near the sources of the Gyndes (§ 5), and flows eastwards (IV. 40. 1) into the Caspian. This would correspond to the course of the historical Araxes (mod. *Aras*), which flows in a north-easterly direction into the south-west corner of the Caspian. But the Massagetae lived to the east of the Caspian (I. 204. 1), so that Hdt. seems to have confused with the Aras the Oxus or the Jaxartes, which flow westwards into the Sea of Aral (possibly at that time a part of the Caspian). Again at IV. 11. 2, the Araxes seems to be meant for the mod. *Volga*, which flows southwards into the Caspian.

καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλ.] i.e. according to different accounts: IV. 81. 1, *διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναί σφεας καὶ ὀλίγους.*

μεγάθεα] Cf. II. 10. 4. So *εἴδεα*, 'beauty' (of a number of persons), VIII. 113. 3. By 'islands' of this size Hdt. means that the river separates into branches, which unite lower down, thus inclosing a large tract of ground. A similar island is described in the Asopus (*νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ*), IX. 51. 2.

§ 2. **σιτέονται μὲν ... κατατίθεσθαι**] The construction is changed owing to *φασί* above.

φορβήν] here might be thought to imply contempt, as if their food were so primitive that it only deserved the name of *fodder*. But elsewhere (211. 2; VII. 50. 8) it is simply used for *σῖτος*.

§ 3. **τούς**] The relative explains *τοιούσδε τινάς* (87. 4; 203. 3), and is the accus. after *ἐπιβάλλειν* (24. 11, n.).

μεθύσκεσθαι] 'Cogitandum hic de planta quadam narcotica, quae per fumum inebriandi vim habet similem fere in modum atque herba Nicotiana.' Bähr.

§ 5. **τὰς διώρ.**] i.e. those described at 189. 3.

διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος· στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν
τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἕλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ. ἐν τοῖσι 6
ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους,
ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἓν 7
τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην
θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσά ἐστι ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ 8
συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες
ναυτίλλονται πᾶσαν, καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαν-
203 τὶς καλεομένη, καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρή, μία τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα. Ἡ δὲ 1
Κασπίη ἔστι ἑτέρη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου
εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυ-

στόμασι] = 'branches' rather than 'mouths' in the ordinary sense: cf. II. 17. 4—6.

τεσσαράκοντα] It seems prob. that 40 was the conventional number used by Eastern nations to express a considerable quantity of anything. Bähr. There can be little doubt that the marshes and shallows mentioned here really denote the Sea of Aral, of which Hdt. gives no separate account.

§ 7. **διὰ καθαροῦ**] 'Through the open,' opposed to *διὰ τεναγέων*, by which the course of the other streams was encumbered (211. 2, n.). Bähr prefers the rendering, *per minime turbidum et limosum labi*, comparing *ῥέει καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι*, IV. 53. 2.

§ 8. **ἐπ' ἑωυτης**] Hdt. contrasts favourably on this point with authorities much later than himself. Even Strabo (about 20 B.C.) thought that the Caspian was connected with the Northern Ocean.

συμμίσγουσα] Cf. *ἐξίει*, 6. 1.

γὰρ] gives the reason for the use of the sing. above (*τῇ ἑτέρῃ θ.*).

πᾶσαν] i.e. including the Black Sea and the Palus Maeotis.

στηλέων] Elsewhere (II. 33. 5) we have Ἡρακληΐων added. The omission of the article shews that the name was a well-known one (111. 2, n.), while the insertion of *καλεομένη* implies the reverse with regard to Ἀτλαντίς. Ἀτλ. simply = 'the sea of Atlas,' i.e. of the mountain so called at the western extremity of the earth (IV. 184. 5; 185. 2). Notice the absence of any *ὠκεανός* (II. 21, 23).

For **Ἐρυθρή**, see I. 1, n.

μία] This fact would have been learnt from the circumnavigation of Africa, described at IV. 42, 43.

CH. 203. § 1. **εἰρεσίῃ χρ.**] This prob. = in addition to sailing, i.e. when there is no wind for sailing, the use of mere row-boats on this sea being neither customary nor generally possible (St.). In any case we cannot apply to this passage the calculation which Hdt. gives (IV. 86. 1) as to the average daily distance run by a sailing-vessel. It seems not unlikely that Hdt. measures the length of the Caspian from east to west and its breadth from north to south, the sea of Aral at that time forming part of it (Bredow). The proportion however of Hdt.'s measurements (15 : 8) is exactly that of the actual measurements of the present sea, 750 : 400, the *greatest* breadth (*τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ*) of the Caspian being about 400 miles, though its *average* breadth is not much over 200 (Rawlinson). Hdt. has clearly under-estimated its size.

For the dat. **χρεωμένῳ**, see 14. 4; for the genitives **πλόου, ἡμερέων**, II. 8. 4; 11. 2, n.

τάτη ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς 2
τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος
παρατείνει, ἐὼν οὐρέων καὶ πλήθεϊ μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθεϊ
ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν
ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης
ζώοντα. ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρε- 3
χόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας
ὕδωρ, ζῷα ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῷα οὐκ
ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ, κατά-
περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων 4
204 εἶναι ἐμφανέα, κατάπερ τοῖσι προβάτοισι. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς 1
ἑσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ
Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα
πεδίον ἐκδέκεται, πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν· τοῦ ὦν δὴ
πεδίου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοίρην μετέχουσι οἱ
Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι.
πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύ- 2

ἑωυτῆς] Above, 193. 4.

§ 2. **τὰ μὲν...φέροντα**] To be taken absolutely (II. 8. 3).

πλήθεϊ] simply denotes extent (cf. 204. 1), a multitude of parts implying a large area. So χῶρος πολλός, IV. 39. 3.

μέγιστον] Sc. οὖρος.

ὑψηλότατον] The highest summit, *Elbruz*, is 18500 feet high. Hdt. knows nothing about the Himalayas (IV. 40. 2).

τα πολλὰ πάντα] Krüg. refers τὰ πολλὰ to ἔθνεα and takes πάντα with ζώοντα,—'the most of them living entirely on.' So at II. 35. 2, πάντα might be taken separately with ἔμπαλιν,—'in most respects altogether contrary.' But this explanation will not serve for V. 67. 2, Ἀργεῖοι τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέαται, where πάντα merely strengthens τὰ πολλά,—'altogether for the most part' = 'almost altogether.' τῶν πάντων πολλῶν (see 76. 5, n.) is different.

ὕλης ἀγρίης] = the wild fruits of the forest.

§ 3. **παρεχόμενα**] agrees with δένδρεα. For τοιῆσδε—τὰ τρίβοντας—ἐγγράφειν, see 202. 3, n.

ζῷα] See 70. 1.

CH. 204. § 1. **πεδίον**] The Steppe region.

ἐκδέκεται] sc. τὴν Κασπίην.

οὐκ ἐλαχίστην] = μεγίστην. So οὐ μάλα (II. 37. 9), οὐκ ἥκιστα (IV. 170. 2). Cf. I. 199. 2, n.

μοίρην] The gen. after verbs of sharing &c. denotes the whole object divided (here πεδίου), the partitive gen. being used because each person obtains only one portion: the accus. on the other hand denotes one (or more) of the parts into which the object is divided, there being no further need of the gen. because each person obtains the whole of his share. So πάντων τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν, to take half as his share, VI. 23. 5.

§ 2. **πολλά τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**] Cyrus is another example of the action of Nemesis (cf. 30. 2). Pride in his birth and past successes, in spite of all warnings (207. 4), leads him to his destruction.

νοντα ἦν. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκῃ γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγέειν.

205 Ἦν δέ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος, γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων 1
βασίλεια· Τόμυρίς οἱ ἦν οὔνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος
ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγῳ, θέλων γυναῖκα ἣν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις, 2
συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μνώμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων
βασιληΐην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, 3
ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηΐην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκο-
206 δομεόμενος. Ἔχοντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον, πέμψασα ἡ 1
Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεύμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχευ ὁρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν.
Οὐκ ὦν ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκῃσι τῇσίδε χρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα 2

ἡ γένεσις] See 122. 3; 126. 7.

τὸ δοκέειν] Put in apposition, by way of explanation. So *ἡ σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ξυγκινδυνεύειν*, Thuc. I. 32. 4; *τέρψις ἥδε σοι τὸ δρᾶν*, Soph. *Aj.* 114.

δεύτερα] Cf. *δῆλα*, 4. 3.

στρατεύεσθαι] expresses the purpose (163. 3). Translate 'whithersoever he turned his arms.' Hom. *Od.* XI. 591, *ὅποτ' ἰθύσει' ὁ γέρων ἐπὶ χερσὶ μάσασθαι.*

CH. 205. § 1. **Τόμυρίς οἱ**] A common form of asyndeton (71. 2).

τῷ λόγῳ] i.e. not *τῷ ἔργῳ* (*δόλῳ*, § 3). Cf. 59. 5; II. 100. 5. Tr. 'sent and pretended to woo her, saying that he wished to have her to wife.'

ἣν] = *suam*, the only instance of this possessive pronoun in Hdt.

§ 3. **διάβασιν**] 'That his army might go over' (179. 4, n.).

τῶν διαπορθ.] 'That were to carry them across the river,' i.e. the boats which formed the bridge. The plur. *γεφύρας* prob. does not imply more than one bridge (the sing. is rare in Hom.), the whole bridge being regarded as a succession of smaller bridges from one pontoon to the next. Cf. 75. 4; 187. 1, n. The mention of *πύργοι* implies that the bridge was being thrown across in the presence of the enemy (*ἀναχωρησάντων*, 206. 3).

CH. 206. § 1. **Μήδων**] See notes, 157. 1; 163. 3. So of the Persian king in Hdt.'s own time, IV. 197. 1.

σπεύδων τὰ σπ.] See 39. 2, n.

ὁρέων] Wess. strangely proposes to read *οὐρέων* ('mountains'), which would be both pointless and inconsistent with 204. 1.

§ 2. **οὐκ ὦν...σὺ δὲ**] = *ἐπεὶ οὐκ— σὺ δὲ* (*ὦν*), an instance of paratactic construction (173. 3, n.). For the force of *ὦν*, see II. 134. 2, n.

μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι. σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέεαι 3
Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε, μόχθον μέν, τὸν ἔχεις
ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμόν, ἄφες· σὺ δέ, ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων
ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδόν, διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμε-
τέρην. εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλεαι ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμε- 4
τέρην, σὺ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ποίεε." Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος 5
συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους· συναγείρας δὲ τούτους
ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα
ποιέῃ. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὠυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνεξέπιπτον, κελευ- 6
όντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρίν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν
207 χώρην. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην 1
Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ,
λέγων τάδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι, ὅτι,
ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ,

δι' ἡσυχ. εἶναι] = *ἡσυχάζειν*, 'to be at peace,' the notion of *in* or *at* being involved in that of *through*. So *διὰ φόβου εἰσί* = *φοβοῦνται*, Thuc. VI. 34. 2.

§ 3. **εἰ προθυμέεαι**] Bähr follows two MSS. (the rest reading *ἤν*). So at II. 13. 4, the majority of MSS. have *ἢν ἐπιδιδοῖ*. Conversely at II. 13. 3 all the MSS. but two read *εἰ ἀναβῇ*. Notwithstanding Bähr's authority the probabilities are clearly in favour of the less regular construction being the true reading. *εἰ* with the subj. and *ἤν* with the indic. may fairly express intermediate shades of meaning between *εἰ* with the indic. and *ἤν* with the subj. Acc. to Hermann (*Opusc.* IV. 46) *ἤν* with the indic. implies the speaker's belief that something is true, coupled with an admission that possibly it may be false: so that *ἢν προθυμέεαι* would = 'if, as I firmly believe (indic.), though possibly it may not be the case (*ἤν*), thou art desirous.' Acc. to Klotz (*Devar.* 472), while *ἤν* with the subj. implies a real connection of cause and effect, = *quum* with the subj., 'since thou art desirous, therefore,'—*ἤν* with the indic. simply denotes an external condition, = *quum* with the indic., 'while (it chancing to be the case that) thou art desirous.'

σὺ δὲ ἡμέων] For *ἡμέων δέ* (107. 4, n.).

§ 5. **ποιέῃ**] Deliberative subj. (53. 1; 159. 2).

§ 6. **συνεξέπ.**] properly applies to the voting-pebbles (*ψῆφοι*) which were taken out of the urn (*ἐκ*) when the votes had been collected. Here it is used of the opinions represented by the *ψῆφοι*, and at VIII. 123. 2 of the voters who put in the *ψῆφοι*.

CH. 207. § 1. **ἐναντίην**] Sc. *γνώμην*. See note on *ἕτερον*, 98. 5.

πρότερον] See 89. 2.

ὅτι...ἀποτρέψειν] Cf. *ὡς — τὴν γυναῖκα περιτῖλαι*, III. 32. 4. Both passages prove that this use of *ὅτι* (*ὡς*) cannot be explained by supposing that it introduces the exact words of the speech (II. 115. 4, n.), and is therefore not taken into account in the construction. Nor is it satisfactory to say that the infin. is due to forgetfulness of the previous *ὅτι*. More prob. the writer intends all through the sentence to use the infin., but finds it necessary to insert *ὅτι* (*ὡς*) to mark exactly where the statement begins. Thus here 'without the particle it would be doubtful

κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν. τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα, ἐόντα 2
ἀχάριτα, μαθήματα γέγονε. Εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι, 3
καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα γνώμας
ἐμέ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ 4
εἶς, καὶ ἑτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς
κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηΐων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων· περιφερόμενος δὲ
οὐκ ἐᾷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν. ἤδη ὦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω 5
περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ 6
γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώρην,
ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔνι· ἑσσωθεὶς μὲν προσαπολλύεις
πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν· δῆλα γὰρ δή, ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται,
οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι.
νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, 7
νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἕποιο φεύγουσι· τὠυτὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω
ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς

whether *ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι* did not depend on *εἶπον* instead of on *ἀποτρέψειν*.' St.

§ 2. **τὰ δέ μοι π.**] 'My sufferings, all grievous as they are, have served me for a lesson.' Some take *ἀχάριτα* with *μαθήματα*, 'bitter lessons:' but *συμφορῇ ἄχαρι* (41. 1) and *οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παθεῖν* (VIII. 143. 4) are against this. Stein reads *τά* before *ἐόντα*, 'those which I have to bear.' The proverb may be well rendered in Latin: *quae nocent docent*, 'we live and learn.' Compare *πάθει μάθος*, Aesch. *Ag.* 170, and the almost convertible phrases *τί μαθών; τί παθών;* in Attic prose. For the *ὁμοιοτέλευτα*, cf. *χρήματα καὶ κτήματα*, Plat. *Legg.* V. 728, *ὥρᾳ καὶ χώρᾳ*, *Hipparch.* 225, where the context implies that this jingle of terminations was a common rhetorical trick in the law-courts.

§ 3. **τοιαύτης**] = *ἀθανάτου*.

πρῆγμα] See 17. 5, n.

§ 4. **ἑτέρων τοιωνδε**] Instead of *ἑτ. τοιούτων* (191. 4). See note, ch. 101.

κύκλος] 'There is a wheel in the affairs of men.' So Tac. *Ann.* III. 55, 'rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis.'

§ 5. **ἤδη ὦν**] 'Without more ado then.' *ἤδη* introduces the application of these remarks to the present case. Its use implies that the opinion of Croesus which follows is the immediate consequence (117. 1, n.) of the views stated above. Cf. 209. 6; II. 144. 1. The argument is:—since good fortune cannot be permanent, it is best to choose the course which offers least risk.

§ 6. **δῆλα**] 4. 3, n.

ἀρχάς] Prob. in its technical sense of 'satrapies' (192. 3; III. 89. 1), and so an anachronism.

§ 7. **νικῶν Μασσαγ.**] Not the same as *νικήσας* below, but a repetition of *νικῶν*, above, rather awkwardly inserted in the clause which introduces the thing compared: = 'in the case, I mean, of thy victory over the M.'

τὠυτὸ γὰρ] Lit. 'for against that other supposition (i.e. *ὅτι νικῶντες κ.τ.λ.*) I will set the like alternative (i.e. *ὅτι νικήσας κ.τ.λ.*).' Translate: 'for I will balance the advantage equally, thine against theirs.'

τῆς Τομύριος. Χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ 8
ἀνασχετὸν, Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑπο-
χωρῆσαι τῆς χώρης. Νῦν ὦν μοι δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν 9
ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι διεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πει-
ρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι,
Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν
μεγάλων ἀπαθέες. τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, τῶν προ- 10
βάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας,
προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα· πρὸς δὲ καὶ
κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα. ποιή- 11
σαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολειπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρό-
τατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὖτις ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν.
ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἁμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, 12
τρέψονταί τε πρὸς αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπό-
δεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.”

208 Γνῶμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν. Κῦρος δὲ μετεὶς τὴν 1
προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἑλόμενος, προηγόρευε
Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην.
ἣ μὲν δὴ ἐξαναχώρεε, κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. Κῦρος δὲ, 2
Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ,
τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ

§ 8. **ἀπηγημένου**] Other passive deponents used by Hdt. are *κατεργασμένον*, 123. 3; *μεμιμημένον*, II. 78; *μεμηχανημένα*, II. 95. 1 (we find the active form *μηχανόωντας* in Homer: *Od.* XVIII. 143).

Κῦρόν γε τὸν Κ.] Not necessarily inconsistent with 91. 6; 107. 4, since the allusion prob. is to the personal exploits of Cyrus, not to the dignity of his descent. Had the latter been the meaning, we should have had *τόν γε Καμβύσεω*.

§ 9. **διεξίωσι**] 'That we should cross the river and advance over all the country that they pass through (in their retreat).'

τάδε] = what follows (§ 10). For *γάρ* followed by *ὦν* in the next sentence, cf. 8. 2; 30. 4.

ἀγαθῶν τε...ἀπαθέες] Notice the elaborately balanced period. The rhetorical character of the speech throughout is very striking. Cf. especially §§ 2 and 7.

§ 10. **προθεῖναι**] Supply *δοκέει*.

ἀκρήτου] Croesus speaks like a Greek, who ordinarily mixed water with his wine.

§ 12. **τε**] This ought properly to follow *κεῖνοι*. Cf. 105. 5.

CH. 208. § 1. **συνέστασαν**] 'Such were the conflicting opinions.' So *συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γωβρύεω*, IV. 132. 2.

αὐτοῦ] See 178. 3, n.

κατὰ] = *καθ' ἅ*.

§ 2. **ἐδίδου**] Was giving, i.e. purposed to give. The Persian king in later times was obliged by law to nominate his successor before entering on a campaign (VII. 2. 1). For the subsequent treatment of Croesus by Cambyses, see III. 36.

τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιέειν, ἢν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσα-
γέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ· ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τού-
τους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς
209 αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελ- 1
θούσης, εἶδε ὄψιν, εὕδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ,
τοιήνδε. ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος 2
παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας·
καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπι-
σκιάζειν. Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος, ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαι- 3
μενίδῃ, ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλι-
κίην ἐς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα. καὶ οὗτος καταλέλειπτο
ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχέ κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν 4
δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος.
ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα
καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε· "Ὕστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβου- 5
λεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἑάλωκε· ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως
οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω. ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται, καί μοι πάντα προ- 6
δεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ
εὕδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ
τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ
τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὔκων ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς 7
ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί. σὺ
τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ ποίεε
ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι
210 καταστήσῃς τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον." Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων 1
Δαρεῖόν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέ-

CH. 209. § 2. **ὁ Κῦρος**] The subject is repeated to increase the solemnity of the story (V. 56. 1; VI. 107. 2).

§ 3. **Ἀχαιμενίδῃ**] And therefore of the royal house (125. 5). Hystaspes belonged to the younger branch. For his descent from Achaemenes, see VII. 11. 3.

§ 6. **ἤδη**] = 'without more words.' Since the gods warn me of all coming dangers, it follows *at once* that they sent this dream to tell me of the plot (207. 5).

§ 7. **τὸ μὴ**] More usually *μὴ οὐ* in this context (II. 181. 4). But just as verbs of hindering &c. may be followed either by the simple infinitive or by the infin. with *μή* (II. 91. 1, n.), so negative notions of this kind may be followed either simply by *μή* (*ὅκως οὐ*, II. 160. 5), or by *μὴ οὐ*.

ὡς] repeats *ὅκως*. So *ὅτι—ὡς*, III. 71. 7; IX. 6. 2 (St.). Bähr renders by *ita* (sc. *ut volo jubeoque*): cf. *οὕτω*, I. 11. 3.

CH. 210. § 1. **ὁ δαίμων**] Not

φαινε, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληΐη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον. Ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν 2 ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονώς, ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει· εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι· ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἄρχειν ἁπάντων. εἰ δέ 3 τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγώ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὅ τι σὺ βούλεαι." Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἤϊε ἐς Πέρσας, φυλάξων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον.

211 Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε 1 τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κύρου τε καὶ Περ- 2 σέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηΐου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσα-

with reference to any particular god, like *ὁ θεός*, II. 24. 3; IV. 79. 2; but a personification of what is elsewhere called *τὸ θεῖον* (compare 32. 2 with 32. 17). So *ὁ θεός*, II. 64. 6; VII. 46. 6; *τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη*, III. 108. 2; and *δαίμων* without the article, I. 111. 2.

προέφαινε] See 34. 2, n.

περιχωρέοι] 7. 1, n.

§ 2. **ἐπιβουλεύσει**] Krüg. reads *ἐπιβουλεύσειε*, which would certainly be more in accordance with the Homeric usage, e.g. *μὴ θάνοι ὅστις ἔμοιγε | ἐνθάδε ναιετάων φίλος εἴη καὶ φίλα ἔρδοι*, *Od.* XV. 359. But the fut. indic. here may fairly be used to express greater definiteness ('that man who is about to plot'), just as *εἰ* is sometimes used with the fut. indic. where we should have expected the opt.

ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι] A strong instance of the use of the infinitive instead of the gen. of the verbal subst. or of the part. (*τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι* or *ἀρχομένων*). So *ἀντὶ εἶναι*, VI. 32. 2; VII. 170. 4. The phrase may be partially illustrated by the choice of construction allowed after certain verbs and substs. which would naturally take the gen., e.g. *φόβος ἐστὶ στρατεύειν* and *τοῦ στρατεύειν* (*φόβῳ εἰσορᾶν*, 'from fear of seeing,' Eur. *Iph. T.* 1342), *ἠμέλησεν ἐρωτᾶν τὸν θεόν* and *ἠμέλησα τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαί σοι* (Madv. *G. S.* 156). So *αἰτίους πληθύειν*, II. 20. 2; *τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιον...αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλάς*, III. 12. 4, 5. Hdt. has a somewhat similar use at VI. 132. 2, *τῆς ἀξιώσιος τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι*, where *ἐξ ἐμεῦ γ.* stands as if it were an indeclinable subst., though prob. in reality *τοῦ* has been changed into *τῆς* owing to the attraction of *ἀξιώσιος*.

§ 3. **νεώτερα β.**] = *νεωτερίζειν*, a common euphemism to denote revolution.

CH. 211. § 2. **καθαροῦ**] 'The picked Persian troops.' Lit. 'clear from the hindrance of the unserviceable part of the army.' Cf. *ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρόν*, VII. 183. 2. Or perhaps *καθαρός* here = *integer*, 'able-bodied,' as at Thuc. V. 8. 2, *τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἐστράτευε, καθαρὸν ἐξῆλθε*. Compare with this the common English provincialism 'doing purely,' which = having good health.

γετέων τριτημορὶς τοῦ στρατοῦ, τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους, καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο· πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου εὗδον. οἱ δὲ 3
Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μέν σφεων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν, καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα, στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν
212 Σπαργαπίσης. Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν 1
γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ἄπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρθῇς 2
τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω, ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλώειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακὰ, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας, ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μευ εὖ παραινεούσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν 3
λόγον· ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρης ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα σὺ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσα- 4
γετέων δεσπότην, ἦ μὲν σὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἐόντα αἵματος
213 κορέσω." Κῦρος μέν νυν τῶν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενει- 1
χθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον. ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς 2

ἀλεξομένους] 'Notwithstanding their resistance.'

ἰδόντες] agrees by a *constructio ad sensum* with τριτημορὶς (cf. ἐόντας, 151. 2).

φορβῆς] 202. 2, n.

§ 3. **Σπαργαπίσης**] Apparently the same name as that of the *Scythian* king, Σπαργαπίθης, mentioned at IV. 76. 6. Cf. I. 201. 2; 215. 1.

CH. 212. § 2. **τῷ περ αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ.**] 'Wherewith ye yourselves are surfeited to madness, so that as the wine sweeps down your throats, evil words bubble up on your tongues.' The metaphor is prob. taken from the foam-bubbles on a rapid stream. Stein compares νῆσος πλωτή, πλέουσα, II. 156. 1, 2. Krüg. takes ἐπ' in the sense of 'against other people,' like ἐπανέπλωον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, VIII. 9. 3, but more prob. it merely strengthens ἀνα-. Cf. ἐπανατέλλω, ἀνατέλλω, e.g. III. 84. 4, compared with III. 85. 2.

κατιόντος] Like ποταμὸς πεδίονδε κάτεισιν | χειμάρρους, Hom. *Il.* XI. 492.

τοιούτῳ φ. δ.] repeats ἀμπελίνῳ κ.τ.λ.

§ 3. **τριτημορίδι**] The accus. or gen. would be more common. But 'verbs which denote an affection of the mind *at* and *because* of something (sometimes) take this object in the dative.' Madv. So πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε, III. 37. 2.

§ 4. **μὴ**] 'Ita scripsimus libris jubentibus.' Bähr. Krüg. and Stein however retain the old reading οὐ, which can be justified if the negative be taken as forming one notion with the verb.

ἦ μὲν] II. 118. 3, n.

Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι, ἔτυχε· ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἑωυ-
214 *τόν. καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ. Τόμυρις δέ,* 1
ὥς οἱ ὁ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτῆς
δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρ- 2
βάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι,
καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθανομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν 3
γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν· μετὰ δέ, ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι· χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους, καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύ-
γειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγενέατο. ἥ τε δὴ πολλὴ 4
τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἑνὸς δέοντα
τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηΐου 5
Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου
νέκυν. ὡς δὲ εὗρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν· 6
λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· "Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζώουσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἑλὼν
δόλῳ· σὲ δ' ἐγώ, κατάπερ ἠπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω." Τὰ 7
μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

CH. 213. § 2. **ὥς μιν κ.τ.λ.**] Instead of *ὡς ὅ τε οἶνός μιν ἀνῆκε.* Compare the position of the personal pronouns at 108. 4; 115. 3; 204. 2.

ἀνῆκε] 'Set him free.' So of waking from sleep: *καί με γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν,* Hom. *Od.* VII. 289.

CH. 214. § 1. **οἱ**] prob. does not directly depend on *ἐσήκουσε*, but is the *dativus ethicus:* 'when she found that Cyrus did not hearken.'

§ 2. **βαρβάρων ἀνδρ.**] sc. *πρὸς βαρβάρους.* So *ναυμαχία αὕτη Ἕλλησι πρὸς Ἕλληνας μεγίστη,* Thuc. I. 50. 2.

οὕτω] = in the following way (101, n.).

τοῦτο] = *τὴν μάχην.*

§ 3. **συνέχεσθαι**] *συμπλέκεσθαι* Hesych. (Bähr). 'They closed and fell on one another with spear and dagger.'

§ 4. **ἡ...πολλὴ τῆς**] Cf. 24. 1.

αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ] i.e. without giving ground.

τὰ πάντα] 'In all' (163. 2, n.).

ἑνὸς δέοντα τ.] B.C. 559—529, acc. to Clinton.

§ 6. **ἀπώλεσας**] Cf. *ἀπολωλεκώς*, 45. 1.

§ 7. **τὰ μὲν δὴ**] As if *ταῦτά* (or *οὕτω*) *μοι πιθανώτατα εἴρηται* were to follow.

πολλῶν] Cf. 95. 2. Xenophon (*Cyrop.* VII. 7) says that Cyrus died

215 Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι 1
καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι. ἱππόται δέ εἰσι καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων
γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις
νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· 2
ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ
πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ
μασχαλιστῆρας χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ᾽ αὔτως τῶν ἵππων 3
τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι,
τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα, χρυσῷ.
σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφί 4
216 ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος. Νό- 1
μοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσδε· γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος,
ταύτῃσι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται. ὃ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἕλληνες 2
ποιέειν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες, ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς

in his bed of old age: Ctesias (*Pers.* 6—8) that he died in camp of a wound received in a battle with the Derbices. Both these accounts are less marvellous than that of Hdt. But by πιθανώτατος Hdt. seems to mean that which most deserves belief on moral grounds as illustrating the action of divine Nemesis. The tomb of Cyrus which was to be seen at Pasargadae (125. 5) in Alexander's time (B.C. 330), and was described by Arrian (about A.D. 140), has been identified with a building which still stands among the ruins of the modern *Murgháb*. See *Dict. Geogr.*, *Pasargadae*.

CH. 215. § 1. **ἀμφοτέρων**] Blakesley renders: 'for of both are there tribes occupying parts (of the great waste).' It seems more natural to take ἀμφ. after μετέχουσι, = 'they share both kinds of life.' Hdt. often refers to a preceding statement in a vague way, without anything having been expressed to which the word of reference can grammatically refer. See 9. 1, n.

σαγάρις] Prob. 'bills' or 'battle-axes.' The precise form of the weapon is uncertain. The emphatic word of the clause seems to be νομίζοντες, the σαγάρις being the *national* weapon (IV. 5. 4), while the use of horses, bows, and lances seems to have varied in different tribes.

§ 2. **τὰ πάντα**] 'For them all,' i.e. in the case of all the aforesaid weapons (99. 2; II. 95. 3).

ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφ.] simply = 'head-gear.' The Scythian head-dress was peculiar (VII. 64. 2).

§ 3. **χρυσῷ**] Sc. κοσμέονται.

§ 4. **σιδ. δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἀργ.**] = οὔτε σιδ. οὔτε ἀργ. Cf. II. 52. 1. Owing to the addition of οὐδέν, οὐδενί, neither of these instances is as strong as ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης οὐδ᾽ ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο, V. 92. 7; ὡς αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἧκον, Thuc. VIII. 99. 1.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ] An emphatic negation. Originally no doubt the first οὐδέ belonged to the whole sentence, connecting it with what had preceded, while the second οὐδέ emphasized some particular notion. Thus οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν (*Il.* V. 22) = οὐδέ κεν ὑπέκφυγε οὐδὲ αὐτος. But the phrase cannot always be broken up in this way. Cf. οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδέ, I. 49; οὐ μὲν οὐδέ, II. 120. 5; οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδέ, 134. 2.

γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα
ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἁμάξης, μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. Οὖρος δὲ 3
ἡλικίης σφι προκέεται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδείς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων
γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί
μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ· ἑψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα
κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται.
τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύ- 4
πτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεύμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἵκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι.
Σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ 5
δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλα-
κτοπόται δέ εἰσι. Θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι 6
ἵππους. νόμος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ
πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

CH. 216. § 3. **ἄλλος μὲν οὐδείς**] Answered by *ἐπεὰν δέ*. Hdt. regards 70 years as the average limit of human life (32. 3): a life of 80 years is exceptionally long (III. 22. 7). The Massagetae did not take this or any other definite number of years as the basis of their calculations on the proper time for a man to die: but they adopted instead the more arbitrary and variable limit of extreme old age. The phrase *οὖρος ἡλικίης* is not quite the same thing as *οὖρος ζόης* (32. 3), since *ἡλικίη* (= prime of life) excludes infancy and old age. Translate 'as a limit after which a man ceases to live they lay down none other than this: when he becomes exceeding old' &c.

γένηται] Sc. *Μασσαγέτης τις*. See 132. 2, n.

οἱ προσήκ. οἱ] The second *οἱ* is the dative: 'his kinsfolk.'

θύουσι] Cf. 126. 3.

ἄλλα] See 193. 4, n.

ταῦτα] either means 'these cases of sacrifice,' or more prob. stands instead of *οὗτοι* (cf. *τοῦτο*, 214. 2).

§ 6. **ἥλιον**] Cf. 212. 4. Krüg. reads *νόος* for *νόμος*. Cf. *οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν*, VII. 162. 2. But *νόμος* may fairly stand in the sense of 'fashion,' or 'common view.' Cf. *οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ*, 'not ending actually, only in thought,' i.e. 'commonly viewed as ending,' IV. 39. 2.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A., AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

The Book of Church Law. Being an Exposition of the Legal Rights and Duties of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England. By the Rev. **John Henry Blunt**, M.A., F.S.A. Revised by **Walter G. F. Phillimore**, B.C.L., Barrister-at-Law, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln.

Crown 8vo. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Henri Perreyve. By **A. Gratry**, Prêtre de l'Oratoire, Professeur de Morale Evangélique à la Sorbonne, et Membre de l'Académie Française. Translated, by special permission, by the Author of "A Dominican Artist," "Life of S. Francis de Sales," &c., &c.

With Portrait. Crown 8vo. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Notitia Eucharistica. A Commentary, Explanatory, Doctrinal and Historical, on the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, according to the use of the Church of England. By **W. E. Scudamore**, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

8vo. 28*s*.

The Spirit of S. Francis de Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva. Translated from the French by the Author of "The Life of S. Francis de Sales," "A Dominican Artist," &c. &c.

Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

Our Mother Church: being Simple Talk on High Topics. By **Anne Mercier**.

Crown 8vo. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Words to Take with Us. A Manual of Daily and Occasional Prayers, for Private and Common Use. With Plain Instructions and Counsels on Prayer. By **W. E. Scudamore**, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

New Edition, Revised. Small 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Permanence of Christianity. Considered in Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year MDCCCLXXII, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A. By **John Richard Turner Eaton**, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Rector of Lapworth, Warwickshire.

8*vo.* [*In the Press.*

Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, and SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT. By various Writers. Edited by the Rev. **John Henry Blunt**, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology."

(*Forming the Second Portion of the* "Summary of Theology and Ecclesiastical History," *which* Messrs. RIVINGTON *have in course of preparation as a* "Thesaurus Theologicus" *for the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England.*)

Imperial 8*vo.* [*In the Press.*

The Thirty-nine Articles of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND EXPLAINED IN A SERIES OF LECTURES. By the Rev. **R. W. Jelf**, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and sometime Principal of King's College, London. Edited by the Rev. **J. R. King**, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's in the East, Oxford, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Merton College.

8*vo.* [*In the Press.*

Voices of Comfort. Edited by the Rev. **Thomas Vincent Fosbery**, M.A., Hon. Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, and sometime Vicar of St. Giles's, Reading.

Small 8vo. [*In the Press.*

Ecclesiastes. The Authorized Version, with a running Commentary and Paraphrase. By the Rev. **Thos. Pelham Dale**, M.A., Rector of St. Vedast with St. Michael City of London, and late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

8vo. [*In the Press.*

Litanies for Congregational Use. Edited by the Compiler of "The Treasury of Devotion."

32*mo.* [*In the Press.*

The Gospel of the Childhood. A Practical and Devotional Commentary on the Single Incident of our Blessed Lord's Childhood (St. Luke ii. 41, to the end); designed as a Help to Meditation on the Holy Scriptures, for Children and Young Persons. By **Edward Meyrick Goulburn**, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

Square 16*mo.* [*In the Press.*

The Chorister's Guide. By **W. A. Barrett**, Mus. Bac. Oxon., of St. Paul's Cathedral, Author of "Flowers and Festivals."

Square 16*mo.* [*In the Press.*

A History of the Holy Eastern

Church. The Patriarchate of Antioch, to the Middle of the Fifth Century. By the Rev. **John Mason Neale**, D.D., late Warden of Sackville College, East Grinsted. Followed by a History of the Patriarchs of Antioch, translated from the Greek of Constantius I., Patriarch of Constantinople. Edited, with an Introduction, by **George Williams**, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

8vo. [*In the Press.*

The Annotated Book of Common

Prayer. Being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. Edited by **John Henry Blunt**, M.A., F.S.A.

Sixth Edition, Revised. Imperial 8vo. 36*s.*

Vita et Doctrina Jesu Christi;

Or, Meditations on the Life of our Lord. By **Avancini.** In the Original Latin. Adapted to the use of the Church of England by a **Clergyman.**

Imperial 32mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Last Days of Père Gratry.

By **Père Adolphe Perraud**, of the Oratory, and Professor of La Sorbonne. Translated by special permission.

Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Knight of Intercession, and

other Poems. By the Rev. **S. J. Stone**, M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.

Small 8vo. 6*s.*

NEW PAMPHLETS

A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's. Delivered by **Connop, Lord Bishop of St. David's** at his Eleventh Visitation, October and November 1872. With an Appendix.

8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dio-cese of Llandaff, at his Eighth Visitation, July 1872. By **Alfred Ollivant**, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff.

8vo. 2*s.*

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dio-cese of Bangor at his Fifth Visitation, August 1872. By **J. C. Campbell**, D.D., Bishop of Bangor.

8vo. 1*s.*

Indian Missions. A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. From **Henry Alexander Douglas**, D.D., Bishop of Bombay.

8vo. 1*s.*

The Great Commission. Meditations on Home and Foreign Missions. Designed originally for the December Ember Week of the Year 1872, in which falls the Appointed Day of Humble Supplication for an Increase of the Number of Missionaries, and for the Blessing of Almighty God upon their Labours. By **Edward Meyrick Goulburn**, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

Small 8vo. 6*d.*

NEW PAMPHLETS

The Life of Faith and the Athanasian Creed. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin on the Twenty-First Sunday after Trinity, 1872. By **H. P. Liddon**, D.D., Ireland Professor of Exegesis and Canon of St. Paul's.

8*vo.* 1*s.*

A Common Sense View of the Athanasian Creed Question. By **Henry Arthur Woodgate**, B.D., Rector of Belbroughton.

Crown 8*vo.* 4*d.*

Our Position as Catholics in the Church of England. A Letter to a Friend. By the Rev. **Arthur Wollaston Hutton**, B.A., formerly Scholar of Exeter College, Assistant-Curate of St. Barnabas, Oxford.

8*vo.* 1*s.*

Defence of the English Ordinal. With some Observations upon Spiritual Jurisdiction and the Power of the Keys. By the Rev. **W. R. Churton**, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Honorary Canon of Rochester Cathedral.

8*vo, cloth.* 3*s.*

The Colour of the Cross. An Allegory. By **J. G. S. Nichol**, Head Master of King James's Grammar School, and Curate of Knaresborough.

Crown 8*vo.* 1*s.*

Rivington's Mathematical Series

12mo.

By J. HAMBLIN SMITH, M.A.,

OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, AND LATE LECTURER AT ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Algebra.

Part I. 2*s*. 6*d*. With Answers, 3*s*.

Exercises on Algebra.

Part I. 2*s*. 6*d*. Copies may be had without the Answers.

Elementary Trigonometry.

4*s*. 6d.

Elementary Hydrostatics.

3*s*.

Elements of Geometry.

Containing Books 1 to 6, and portions of Books 11 and 12 of Euclid, with Exercises and Notes. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Books 1 and 2; Books 3 and 4; Books 5 and 6; and portions of Books 11 and 12, 2*s*. *each; or limp cloth*, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Elementary Statics.

3*s*.

By E. J. GROSS, M.A.,

FELLOW OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Algebra.

Part II. [*In the Press.*

By G. RICHARDSON, M.A.,

ASSISTANT MASTER AT WINCHESTER COLLEGE, AND LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Geometrical Conic Sections.

[*In the Press.*

Other Works are in Preparation.

• London • Oxford • Cambridge •

Select Plays of Shakspere

RUGBY EDITION. With an Introduction and Notes to each Play. Small 8vo.

As You Like It. 2s.; paper cover, 1s. 6d.

Edited by the Rev. Charles E. Moberley, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School, formerly Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford.

Macbeth. 2s.; paper cover, 1s. 6d.

Edited by the same.

Coriolanus. 2s. 6d.; paper cover, 2s.

Edited by Robert Whitelaw, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Hamlet. [*In the Press.*

Edited by the Rev. Charles E. Moberley, M.A.

The Tempest. [*In preparation.*

Edited by J. Surtees Phillpotts, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School, formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Much Ado about Nothing. [*In preparation.*

Edited by the same.

*** *Other Plays are in Preparation.*

Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

RUGBY EDITION. Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by J. Surtees Phillpotts, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School, formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Scenes from Greek Plays

RUGBY EDITION. Small 8vo, in cloth or in paper covers. Abridged and Adapted for the use of Schools, by Arthur Sidgwick, M.A., Assistant Master at Rugby School, and formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Aristophanes.

THE CLOUDS. THE FROGS. THE KNIGHTS. PLUTUS.

Euripides.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. THE CYCLOPS. ION.

1s. 6d. each; paper cover, 1s.

*** *Other Plays are in Preparation.*

Rivington's Devotional Series

Elegantly printed with red borders. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

Thomas à Kempis, Of the Imitation of Christ.

Introduction to the Devout Life.
From the French of S. Francis of Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva.

A Short and Plain Instruction for the Better
Understanding of the Lord's Supper: to which is annexed, the Office of the Holy Communion, with Proper Helps and Directions. By **Thomas Wilson**, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man.
Complete Edition, in large type.

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living.
By **Jeremy Taylor**, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore.

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying.
By **Jeremy Taylor**, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore.
The "**Holy Living**" and the "**Holy Dying**" may be had bound together in One Vol. 5*s*.

A Practical Treatise concerning Evil Thoughts.
By **William Chilcot**, M.A.

The English Poems of George Herbert.
Together with his Collection of Proverbs, entitled "Jacula Prudentum."

CHEAP EDITION, WITHOUT THE RED BORDERS.

Thomas à Kempis, Of the Imitation of Christ.
Limp cloth, 1*s.; or in cover,* 6*d.*

Bishop Wilson's Holy Communion.
Large type. Limp cloth, 1*s.; or in cover,* 6*d.*

Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living. *Limp cloth,* 1*s.*

Jeremy Taylor's Holy Dying. *Limp cloth,* 1*s.*

Holy Living and Holy Dying. In One Vol, 2*s.* 6*d.*

• London • Oxford • Cambridge •

The Way of Life. A Book of Prayers and Instruction for the Young at School, with a Preparation for Confirmation. Compiled by a Priest. Edited by the Rev. **T. T. Carter**, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks.

Imperial 32mo. 1*s*. 6*d*.

Thoughts on Personal Religion. Being a Treatise on the Christian Life in its Two Chief Elements, Devotion and Practice. By **Edward Meyrick Goulburn**, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

New Presentation Edition, elegantly printed on Toned Paper. Two vols. Small 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

An Edition in one vol., 6*s*. 6*d*.*; also a Cheap Edition*, 3*s*. 6*d*.

A Church History of the First Seven Centuries, to the Close of the Sixth General Council. By **Milo Mahan**, D.D., sometime S. Mark's-in-the-Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary, New York.

8vo. 15*s*.

English Nursery Rhymes. Translated into French. By **John Roberts**, M.A., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Square 16mo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology. By Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. **John Henry Blunt**, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer."

Second Edition. Imperial 8vo. 42*s*.

The Psalms. Translated from the Hebrew. With Notes, chiefly Exegetical. By **William Kay**, D.D., Rector of Great Leighs, late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Sermons. By **Henry Melvill**, B.D., late Canon of St. Paul's, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen.

New Edition. Two vols. Crown 8*vo.* 5*s. each.*

The Origin and Development of Religious Belief. By **S. Baring-Gould**, M.A., Author of "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages."

Vol. I. **MONOTHEISM AND POLYTHEISM.**

Second Edition. 8*vo.* 15*s.*

Vol. II. **CHRISTIANITY.**

8*vo.* 15*s.*

Parish Musings; or, Devotional Poems. By **John S. B. Monsell**, LL.D., Rural Dean, and Rector of St. Nicholas, Guildford.

Fine Edition. Small 8*vo.* 5*s.*

Cheap Edition, 18*mo, limp cloth,* 1*s.* 6*d.; or in cover,* 1*s.*

Sermons on Special Occasions. By **Daniel Moore**, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Paddington; Author of "Aids to Prayer," &c.

Crown 8*vo,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Brighstone Sermons. By George Moberly, D.C.L., Bishop of Salisbury.

Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

A Manual for the Sick. With other Directions. By **Launcelot Andrewes, D.D.**, sometime Lord Bishop of Winchester. Edited, with a Preface, by **Henry Parry Liddon, D.D., D.C.L.**, Canon of St. Paul's.

With Portrait. Second Edition. Large type. 24mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury. A Sketch. By **Henry Parry Liddon, D.D., D.C.L.**, Canon of St. Paul's.

Second Edition. 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Or, bound with the Sermon "Life in Death," 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Life of Madame Louise de France, Daughter of Louis XV., known also as the Mother Térèse de S. Augustin. By the Author of "A Dominican Artist," "The Life of S. Francis de Sales," &c.

Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

*Instructions for the Use of Can-*didates for Holy Orders, and of the Parochial Clergy; with Acts of Parliament relating to the same, and Forms proposed to be used. By **Christopher Hodgson, M.A.**, Secretary to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty.

Ninth Edition Revised and Enlarged. 8*vo.* 16*s.*

The Treasury of Devotion. A Manual of Prayers for General and Daily Use. Compiled by a Priest. Edited by the Rev. **T. T. Carter**, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks.

Sixth Edition. 16*mo*, 2*s*. 6*d*.; *Limp cloth*, 2*s*.

Bound with the Book of Common Prayer, 3*s*. 6*d*.

A Dominican Artist. A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Père Besson, of the Order of St. Dominic. By the Author of "The Life of Madame Louise de France," &c.

Second Edition. Crown 8*vo*. 6*s*.

The Reformation of the Church of England. Its History, Principles, and Results. A.D. 1514-1547. By **John Henry Blunt**, M.A., Vicar of Kennington, Oxford, Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c., &c.

Second Edition. 8*vo*. 16*s*.

Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages. A Contribution to Ecclesiastical History. By **John J. Ign. von Döllinger.** Translated, with Introduction and Appendices, by **Alfred Plummer**, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford.

8*vo*. 14*s*.

Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church. By **H. C. Romanoff.** With an Introductory Notice by the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe."

Second Edition. Crown 8*vo*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Family Prayers. Compiled from Various Sources (chiefly from Bishop Hamilton's Manual), and arranged on the Liturgical Principle. By **Edward Meyrick Goulburn**, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

New Edition. Large Type. Crown 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cheap Edition. 16*mo.* 1*s.*

The Annual Register. A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the Year 1872.

8*vo.* 18*s.*

The Volumes of the New Series, 1863 *to* 1871, *may be had,* 18*s. each.*

Yesterday, To-Day, and For Ever. A Poem in Twelve Books. By **Edward Henry Bickersteth**, M.A., Vicar of Christ's Church, Hampstead, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Ripon.

Seventh Edition. Small 8*vo.* 6*s.*

Bible Readings for Family Prayer. By the Rev. **W. H. Ridley**, M.A., Rector of Hambleden.

Crown 8*vo.*

Old Testament—Genesis and Exodus 2*s.*

New Testament, 3*s.* 6*d.* { St. Matthew and St. Mark. 2*s.*
St. Luke and St. John. 2*s.*

*Liber Precum Publicarum Eccle-*siæ Anglicanæ. A **Gulielmo Bright**, A.M., et **Petro Goldsmith Medd**, A.M., Presbyteris, Collegii Universitatis in Acad. Oxon. Sociis, Latine redditus.

New Edition, with all the Rubrics in red. Small 8*vo.* 6*s.*

*A Companion to the Old Testa-*ment. Being a Plain Commentary on Scripture History, down to the Birth of our Lord.

Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Latin Prose Exercises. Being Easy Graduated English Sentences for Translation into Latin, with Rules, Explanations, a Vocabulary, and Index. Intended for the Use of Beginners and Junior Forms of Schools. By **R. Prowde Smith,** B.A., Assistant Master at the Grammar School, Henley-on-Thames.

Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Theory of Harmony. Founded on the Tempered Scale. With Question and Exercises for the use of Students. By **John Stainer,** Mus. Doc., M.A., Magd. Coll., Oxon, Organist to St. Paul's Cathedral.

Second Edition. 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Selections from Lucian. With English Notes. By **Evelyn Abbott,** Assistant Master in Clifton College.

Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Progressive Exercises in Latin Elegiac Verse. By **C. G. Gepp,** B.A., late Junior Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Assistant Master at Tonbridge School.

Second Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*